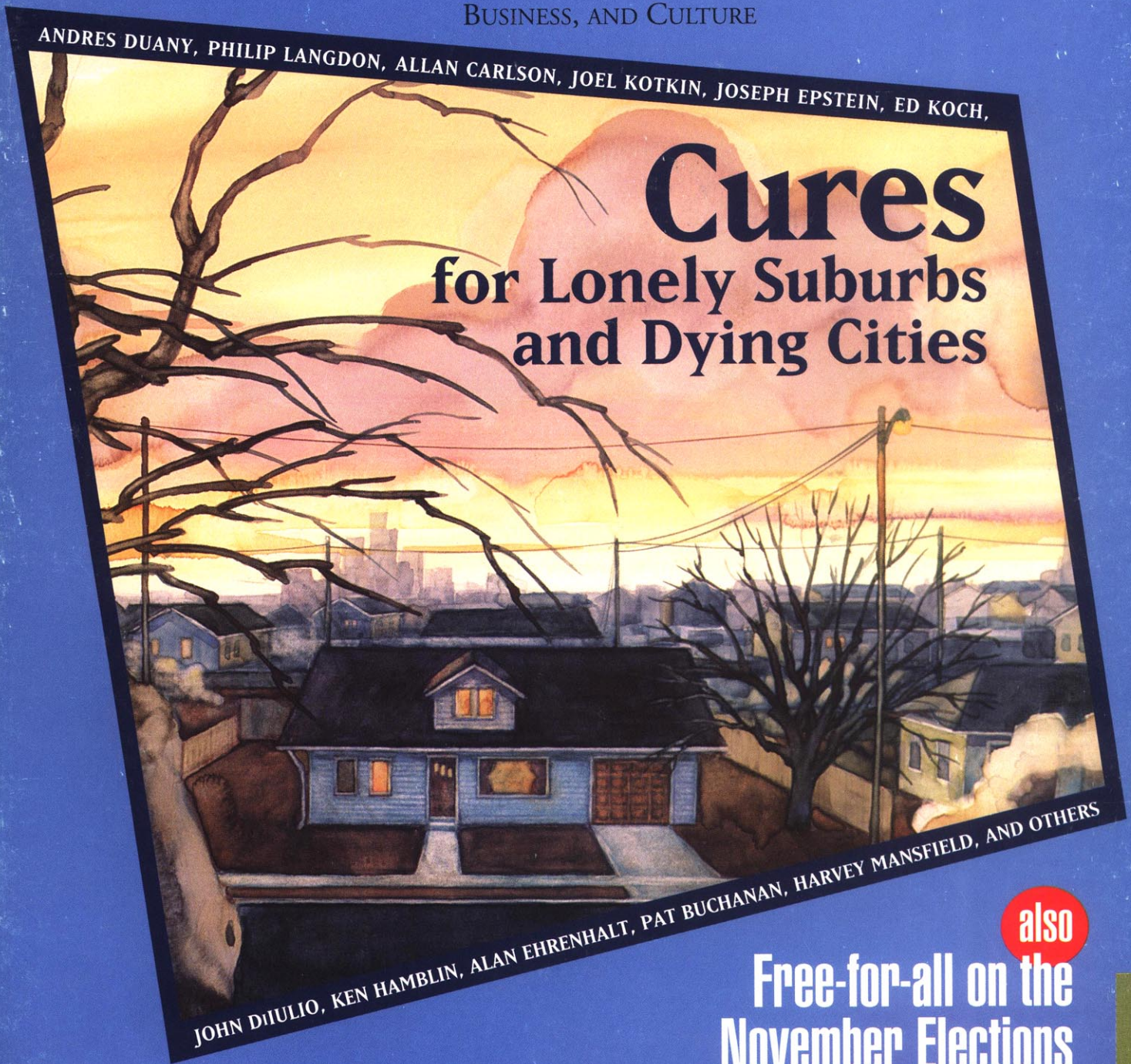
COACH JOE PATERNO ❧ BEN STEIN ❧ "CHAINSAW" AL DUNLAP ❧ DOPE IN THE WHITE HOUSE

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

$4.95

A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

ANDRES DUANY, PHILIP LANGDON, ALLAN CARLSON, JOEL KOTKIN, JOSEPH EPSTEIN, ED KOCH,



Cures for Lonely Suburbs and Dying Cities

JOHN DIIULIO, KEN HAMBLIN, ALAN EHRENHALT, PAT BUCHANAN, HARVEY MANSFIELD, AND OTHERS

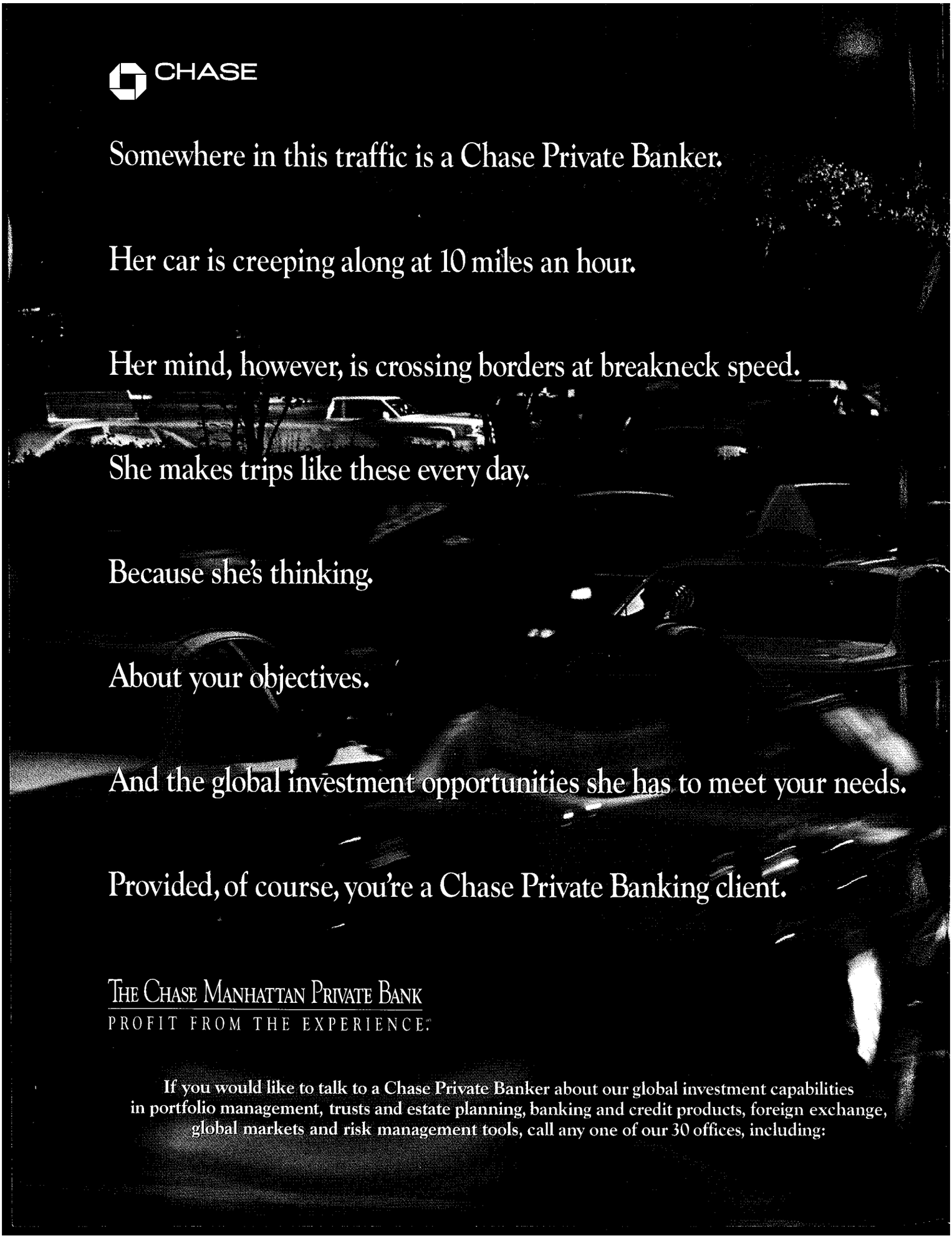
also

Free-for-all on the November Elections

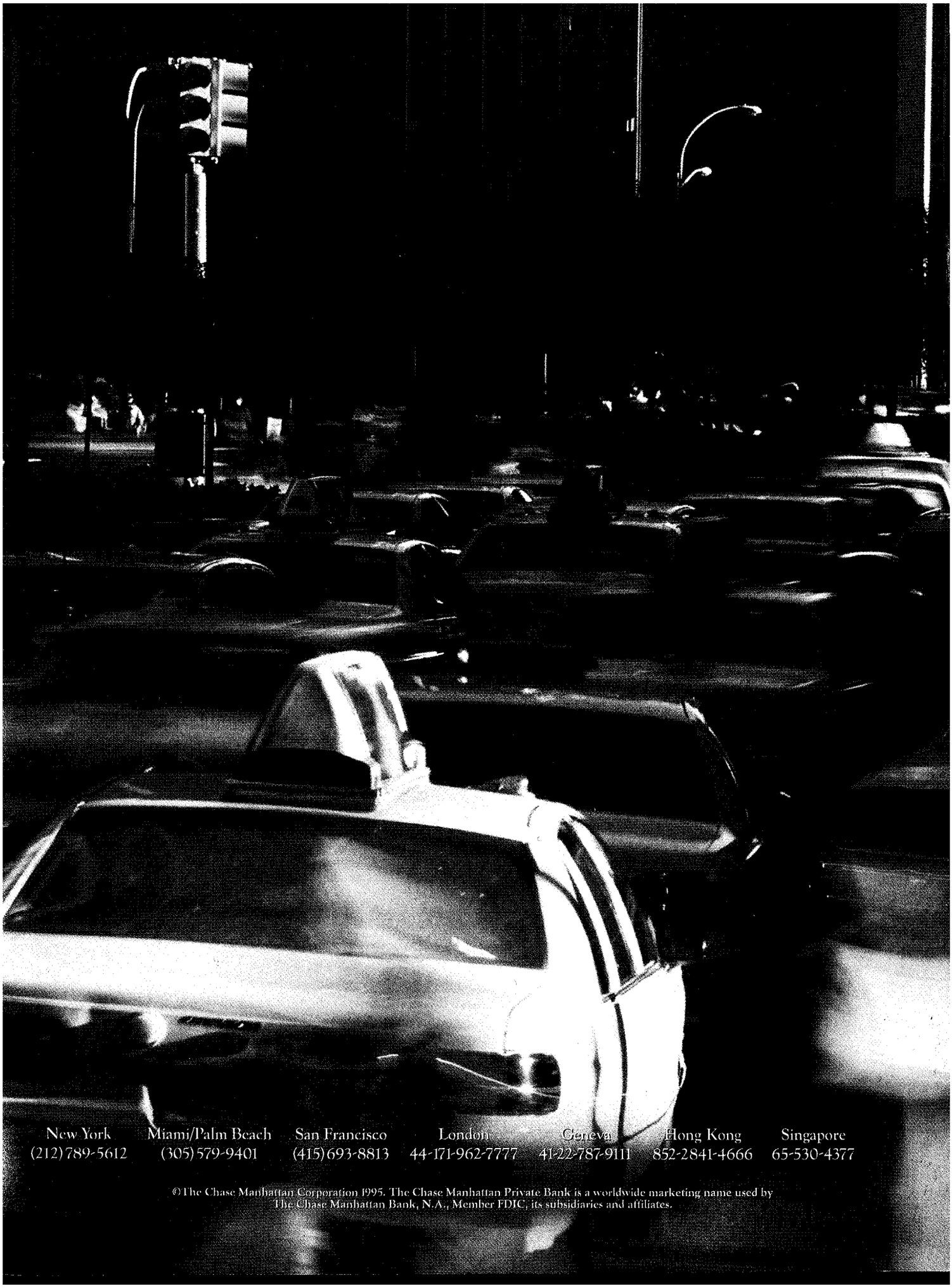
Michael Barone, Lynne Cheney, Irving Kristol, Gov. Robert Casey, Gary Bauer, Christopher Hitchens, Karlyn Bowman, Michael Farris, Grover Norquist, and Frank Luntz

VOLUME 7, NUMBER 6
NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1996

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



New York	Miami/Palm Beach	San Francisco	London	Geneva	Hong Kong	Singapore
(212) 789-5612	(305) 579-9401	(415) 693-8813	44-171-962-7777	41-22-787-9111	852-2841-4666	65-530-4377

© The Chase Manhattan Corporation 1995. The Chase Manhattan Private Bank is a worldwide marketing name used by The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A., Member FDIC, its subsidiaries and affiliates.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

November/December 1996 Vol. 7, No. 6

4 BIRD'S EYE
Finding community life.

6 SIDELIGHTS
Sharpton for Kemp? Encore marriages. Pro-choicers for life. Is that zucchini loaded?

10 SCAN
Pack the rod and spoil the criminal. It's a mall world. Heroin is comical? Robert Nisbet vs. the Nanny State. Zoning kills community life. Bennett on character.

18 INDICATORS ◆ Numbers, etc.
School choice results. Car homicides. Who gets abortions? Grandpa was a trader. Liberal character.

20 "LIVE" WITH TAE
Legendary football coach Joe Paterno speaks out on black quarterbacks, poetry, and kids.

24 FREE-FOR-ALL ON THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS
Michael Barone • Gary Bauer • Karlyn H. Bowman • Robert P. Casey • Lynne Cheney • Michael Farris • Christopher Hitchens • Irving Kristol • Frank Luntz • Grover Norquist
An all-star line-up of political experts debates how this year's elections will reshape America's future. Will this be the tipping-point?

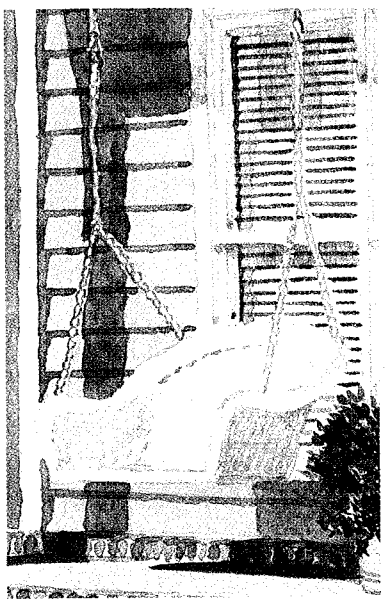


Illustration by Ye Wah Siew

PAGE 67

34 TWO CHEERS FOR THE SUBURBS
Allan Carlson
Suburbia may not be perfect, but it beats the alternatives.

36 A CONSERVATIVE CASE AGAINST SUBURBIA
Karl Zinsmeister
Are suburbs really family-friendly?

41 THE NEW, NEIGHBORLY ARCHITECTURE
Philip Langdon • Andres Duany
Believing that traditional buildings can bolster traditional values, a new wave of architects and city planners are designing some distinctly old-fashioned towns for future Americans to live in. Visionary urbanist Andres Duany explains the secrets of livable communities, and contrasts his designs with suburban sprawl.

51 THE CITY LIFE WE'VE LOST
Victor Gold • Joseph Epstein • Ken Hamblin • Pat Buchanan • Mayer Schiller • Gayle Yiotis • Henry Turley • Walter E. Williams • Ed Koch • Hadley Arkes
In ten finely wrought memoirs, our essayists paint the details of city life one short generation ago—when decency and grace could still be found on urban streets.

59 MAKE WAY FOR THE URBAN CONFEDERATES
Joel Kotkin
Cities have fattened themselves by gobbling up surrounding suburbs. But smaller jurisdictions work better. Time to break urban governments into pieces.

Cover Illustration by Terry Shoffner

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

65 BULLDOZE THE '60S AND BOLSTER BUSINESS
Fred Siegel
Urban renewal 1960s-style was disastrous. Now smart cities look to businesses, not bureaucrats, to turn things around.

67 MAKING OUR HOMETOWNS MORE LIVABLE
Harvey Mansfield • Robert H. Nelson • David Popenoe • Alan Ehrenhalt • Robert B. Hawkins, Jr. • William A. Fischel • Nathan Glazer • Patrick H. Hare • John Stilgoe • Henry M. Turley, Jr.
Simple suggestions for improving hometown life. One proposal each from a diverse group of developers, scholars, planners, and journalists.

72 THREE GOOD IDEAS FROM ABROAD
George W. Liebmann
Could these institutions that have fostered community life in other nations be transplanted to America?

74 THE THREE-GENERATION HOUSEHOLD LIVES!
Cathy Myers and *Lee Miller*
The joys and pains of sharing a roof with both your children and your parents—two true-life stories. Plus an experiment in making multi-generationalism practical.

PAGE 24

76 TRANSCRIPT ◈ **Words Worth Repeating**
John J. DiIulio, Jr., attacks urban crime's biggest accomplice—our so-called criminal justice system.

78 IN REAL LIFE ◈ **The Daily Work of Americans**
- *Raymond Wisher* connects dope on the streets to the White House.
- *Blake Hurst* profiles some public-spirited citizens from Holt County, Mo.
- *George Marlin* defends the old ethnic neighborhoods of New York.
- *Evan Gahr* doesn't like his doorman building.
- *Ben Stein* wishes his dad a happy eightieth birthday.

82 ENTERPRISING ◈ **Business as an imaginative act**
"Chainsaw" Al Dunlap may be the best friend shareholders have.

84 THE ECONOMIST
Sen. Spencer Abraham wants to dump government regulations that keep industrial sites in urban areas vacant.

87 FLASHBACK
Americans 1, Metric System 0.

88 BOOK TALK
- John Attarian—*Radio Priest: Charles Coughlin, the Father of Hate Radio* by Donald Warren
- Robert P. George—*Fighting for Life* by Robert P. Casey
- Tom Switzer—*Tripwire: Korea and U.S. Foreign Policy in a Changed World* by Doug Bandow
- Martin Morse Wooster—*Divided They Fell: The Demise of the Democratic Party, 1964-1996* by Ronald Radosh
- John McClaughry—*Decentralize for Liberty* by Thomas Hewes

PAGE 51

93 THE DIGEST ◈ **Summaries of important research**
Out-of-bounds zoning…turn off the Energy Department…businesswomen oppressed.

99 OPINION PULSE ◈ **The latest survey data**
Where we live. Party politics. Presidential pizza toppings.

103 THE MAIL
Men and single-motherhood. Don't forget homeschoolers. Europe's electronic backwoods. The NEA's poster child.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

November/December 1996 Vol. 7, No. 6

Publisher *Christopher DeMuth*

Editor in Chief *Karl Zinsmeister*

Senior Editor *Scott Walter*
Assistant Editor *Tom Switzer*
Associate Editors *Bill Kauffman*
Martin Morse Wooster
Opinion Pulse Editor *Karlyn H. Bowman*
Contributing Editor *Philip Langdon*

Art Director *Deanne D. Yetman*
Graphic Designers *Allyson Neily Brown*
Jeanne Berger

Advertising Manager *Meredith McGann*
Proofreader *Gayle Yiotis*
Interns *Emily Fulghum*
Allison Gans
Allan Petersen

Chief of Operations *David Gerson*

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
(ISSN 1047-3572), published bimonthly by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and additional mailing offices. Copyright © 1996, the American Enterprise Institute. All rights reserved. POSTMASTER: Send all subscription correspondence and address changes to The American Enterprise, P.O. Box 2013, Marion, OH 43305.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
"The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, or fax (202) 862-5867, or e-mail 75272.1226@compuserve.com.

PRODUCTION AND BUSINESS OFFICE
The American Enterprise
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
(202) 862-5886.

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR IN CHIEF
The American Enterprise
430 South Geneva Street, Ithaca, NY 14850.
(607) 272-0909.

MANUSCRIPTS
The editors welcome mailed inquiries briefly summarizing article ideas. We will not be responsible for returning any unsolicited manuscripts. Send to Senior Editor at Washington, D.C. address.

SUBSCRIPTIONS
$28 one year. Overseas: add $30. (614) 375-2323

Bird's Eye

Karl Zinsmeister

Coming Home to Community Life

To be attached to the subdivision, to love the little platoon we belong to in society ...is the first link in the series by which we proceed towards a love to our country and to mankind. —*Edmund Burke*

I have a friend who argues that the single most important influence on a person's quality of life is the proximity of his or her house to an ethnic bakery. He may be right. For all our concern with big influences on well-being, it is often very simple things that make one place warm, pleasant, and satisfying, while another leaves us unhappy. The same rule applies to devices and ways of doing things. Sometimes the things that affect our quality of life most are quite simple and homely. Take the disposable diaper. Was that a great step forward for mankind, or what? In terms of changing the daily existences of everyday Americans, Pampers are more revolutionary than, say, lasers.

One of my favorite nominees for "homely-but-huge" influence on the quality of life is the sidewalk. The sidewalk is just a ribbon of low-tech concrete or brick. But of course it's more than that. A sidewalk gives you the permission, and opportunity, to place yourself pretty close to other people in their most intimate sanctums—their yards and gardens, their front parlors, the stoops and porches where they read their newspapers on warm evenings or swing with their honeys. A neighborhood where all the homes are laced together by an open footpath is a very different place than a neighborhood of houses reached only by private driveways off a fast road. I don't care how gregarious you are, if you don't have sidewalks in your community you are not going to know much about the character of more than a handful of your most immediate neighbors.

But of course, relatively few of the communities we have built in this country since World War II have had sidewalks. And that simple, superficial little difference reflects a host of other, deeper divergences between America's old neighborhoods and our new ones.

In an article starting on page 36, I suggest that the typical modern tract suburb, and the environment of strip development that undergirds it, is not an especially family-friendly place, nor one that furthers other traditional values. I know that many conservatives, used to thinking of the suburbs as allied territory, will find this argument strange and perhaps a bit annoying at first. But I hope readers will give it a chance, and then immediately refer to the important articles that follow, where we outline a practical vision of how our suburbs might be made more supportive of community life. For as Allan Carlson points out in this issue, suburbia is now where America lives—literally and figuratively. So making it a better place will pay off in many ways.

Admittedly, living in close proximity to others is not always easy. Certainly Americans have always had mixed views on the matter. One rule of thumb among the frontiersmen was that it was time to move on as soon as you could hear the sound of a neighbor's axe. On the other hand, all those barn-raisings and quilting bees and Main Street civic groups were real, and essential to the success of our land.

I myself have had enough experience with loud stereos and alcoholic tenants and busybody neighbors who didn't like my paint colors to know better than to romanticize the virtues of "community." We're all a little scared about having other people know too much of our business, or judge us. Yet understanding and relating to our fellow citizens is the dramatic stuff of human life—and a requirement of self-government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When the Baby Boom was in full flood, some fashionable writers worried that Americans were becoming *too* fraternal. William Whyte fretted that 1950s suburbanites were "imprisoned in brotherhood." Max Lerner gibbered that a kind of "enforced intimacy" existed in many neighborhoods, "closer than anything in previous American experience except college dormitories or fraternities." Families were dropping in on each other "rarely bothering to knock." There was "almost communal use of bicycles, books, and baby toys…everyone's life was known to everyone."

Boy, what a difference a few decades and a little sobriety can make. Today, it's not excessive familiarity among neighbors that Americans complain about, but rather social isolation and the lack of mutual ties.

One reason intellectuals like Whyte and Lerner fretted about the risks of neighborly intimacy is because they had grown up reading writers like Sinclair Lewis, Zona Gale, and Hamlin Garland, who made their reputations writing biting satires on the claustrophobic narrowness of small-town life. Under the influence of these brilliant stylists (each rewarded with Pulitzer Prizes), an entire generation of American thinkers turned disdainful toward any but the most cosmopolitan and individualistic ways of living.

Some years back, I had a conversation with a neighbor about this aspect of Sinclair Lewis's work. My neighbor was in his 40s, unmarried, a Yale graduate and activist lawyer working in Washington for the Environmental Protection Agency, very much on the left in politics and culture. Not, in other words, someone normally inclined to leap to the defense of bourgeois values. "I remember distinctly when I first read *Main Street* back in college," he began, "thinking it was one of the greatest books I'd ever come across. Skewering all these conformist, conservative, small-town establishment types with their suffocatingly small causes and compulsive 'joiner' mentality.'"

He then explained that he had re-read the book recently, after many years of living in a real neighborhood and taking part in grassroots efforts like the local cemetery preservation group, the recycling drive, and block meetings on crime. And this time, he reported, it hit him hard that the ideas Lewis promoted were deeply destructive of real community and decent living. "The volunteer work, the small-town or precinct spirit, the 'boosterism,' the neighborly handholding that seemed so narrow when I had no real-life community attachments of my own—I now see that without those kinds of micro-associations there's no chance of creating a productive and warm community life. The world is so busy and impersonal today," he sighed. "It's a terrible loss when those things fade away."

It's a pity that barbarism has overtaken so many urban neighborhoods, because they once enjoyed a highly developed common life of front-stoop talk, street games, and outdoor visiting. During my first years in Washington, D.C., I lived across the street from a kindly old black man who used to tell me how on steamy summer nights his whole family, along with hundreds of others, would trek to the public parks to sleep in the airy comfort and chatty fellowship of the outdoors. Families used to do the same thing in New York's Central Park, even at the Harlem end. Try that today.

Enough vestiges of these earlier cohesive communities survive to remind us of what we have lost. Through most of the 1980s, my own family found a lot to enjoy in city rowhouse living. Our old Capitol Hill neighborhood was full of modest but cozy homes comfortably clustered around stores, libraries, ballfields, and the city's only surviving outdoor market. Most of the residents worked nearby; a great many of us walked to our jobs. Lots of museums and free activities were close at hand. We had narrow but deep yards and big open alleys behind our houses. We often sat on our front steps in the evening, where tales were shared with neighbors or passersby. The murmur of adjoining family life, drifting across courts, alleys, and yards, and sometimes through thin common walls, was frequently a source of company, and even amusement.

LIVING COOPERATIVELY IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO OTHER PEOPLE IS NOT ALWAYS EASY, BUT IT'S THE STUFF OF DEMOCRATIC LIFE.

We did most of our daily shopping on foot, and bumped into friends and acquaintances on literally most of our trips. When our children were young and doing their best to assassinate each other, morning and afternoon trips with the double stroller to one of several nearby parks (where the mothers were plentiful and fathers regularly rotated through) saved my wife's sanity. We found this organically sociable way of life quite pleasing—particularly when our children were very young and we, like most parents, were in special need of camaraderie and commiseration. If the violence, mismanagement, and physical decay that have overtaken our cities could be rolled back, this style of neighborhood could be an attractive alternative to the lonely ranch house for many families.

But of course, we conservatives have been wishing for decades that American cities would become more sane. The articles in this magazine by Joel Kotkin and Fred Siegel give glimmers of hope that certain cities are at long last reversing some of the disastrous policies that swept urban America starting in the 1960s. With so much to be fixed, though, this will be a long haul even if cities stick with it.

While this issue provides lots of ideas about how families might improve their community lives, we aren't suggesting there is only one right way to do these things. Handing bandoliers and pistols to zoning boards, or otherwise coercing Americans, is no way to improve people's lives. To the contrary, we think one of the reasons successful communities are disappearing is because of harebrained "planning" and government meddling (see "Zoning Kills Community Life" in SCAN).

The kinds of traditional towns and neighborhoods we once had all across this country, the very locales where our own parents grew up, were mostly excellent places to call home. They captured the wisdom of centuries of human experience at living together. All we need do is return to their principles and rules—and real communities can flourish again.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sidelights

"The zucchini throws off the juries," says Queens County assistant D.A. **Kirke Bartley**. Three juries have deadlocked rather than convict **Carlos Diaz** of robbing a man at squash-point. ❧ Government dependency spreads: Idaho's Department of Fish and Game is struggling mightily to teach trout raised on government feed-pellets to eat worms when released into the wild. · · · People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals is demanding that Fishkill, New York, change its name because of the implications of piscine slaughter. Village officials refuse, explaining that "kill" is Dutch for "stream." Feline-fanciers wonder why PETA is not also protesting the Catskill Mountains. ❧ "I absolutely am not a Republican," the Rev. **Al Sharpton** told interviewers, "but **Jack Kemp** gave us a genuine choice." The flamboyant minister added, "The Republican convention is more inclusive than the Democratic convention," which had "no black speakers in prime time." · · · The Greater Denver Ministerial Alliance, representing 100 black churches, endorsed GOP congressional candidate **Joe Rogers**, the first Republican it has ever supported for federal office. ❧ After forcing the Virginia Military Institute to enroll women, the **Clinton** Justice Department says it's not "looking at" action again VMI's sister school, the all-female Virginia Women's Institute for Leadership. · · · When VMI acquiesced in women's enrollment but said women will have to meet the same physical standards as men, the National Organization of Women objected. · · · Gender gaps closing: women are catching up to men in smoking, drinking, drug use, AIDS infection, and rate of imprisonment. Teenage girls smoke, drink, and do drugs as often as boys. · · · Women charged with drug possession or trafficking increased over 1,000 percent in Italy from 1994-95; officials partly blame increasing female membership in the Mafia. ❧ Noting that second, third, and more marriages are becoming sharply more popular, one analyst has invented the term, "encore marriages."

Telmex, Mexico's national telephone company, plans to enter the U.S. market. · · · Japan's golf-ball imports bounced up 34 percent from 1994-95. · · · Mainland Chinese firms will be listed on the London Stock Exchange, officials announced. ❧ The European Community's new condom regulation is 50 pages in length (the regulation, that is), but has stirred objections from Italians who complain that the new standard size is too large. ❧ "If a great sucking sound is to be heard on the trade front, it is the sound of developing nations sucking in more than $1 trillion a year of imports from advanced countries," writes columnist **Bernard Wysocki, Jr.** ❧ "It is an act of social justice to cut taxes on people who aren't very wealthy," insists Milwaukee's Democratic Mayor **John Norquist**. · · · "My job is not to sell more pizzas…but to protect Godfather's Pizza from the government," proclaims CEO **Herman Cain**. ❧ Just as a first-grade boy was suspended from school for kissing a classmate on the cheek, a 13-year-old honor student in Fairborn, Ohio, was suspended for ten days, with expulsion recommended, because she possessed Midol, an over-the-counter medicine for relief of menstrual pain. ❧ **John Goode**'s barbecue stand has long served customers at public events in Austin, Texas, but the city's concessions manager is ending its contract with him because it needs 25 percent of its subcontractors to be certified minority- and women-owned businesses. Goode, who is black, refuses to be certified: "Hell, I was born a minority. I just choose not to ask for special benefits." ❧ Liberal columnist **Richard Cohen** confesses doubts about Clinton: "The man really does have a capacity to say whatever it takes to seduce whomever is before him. · · · "Re-elect **Hillary**'s Husband," reads the bumpersticker on a rundown VW parked near the TAE offices. ❧ TV fat cat **Barry Diller** launched the Fox network and renovated the QVC home shopping network. Now he says TV's future lies in "hyper-local" programming like high school football. ❧ A man who pled guilty in California to child pornography charges was accused of being part of a kiddie porn ring that molested a ten-year-old girl in front of a digital camera relaying live images to the Internet. ❧ Some Democrats are not happy about Clinton's emphasis on gun control, including Rep. **Bill Brewster** (D-Okla.), who is retiring this year; he guesses that 70 percent of his constituents keep firearms in their cars. ❧ "I have done some studies on the status of the fetus. I am giving a lot of consideration to whether we have infanticide or homicide here," said Sen. **Arlen Specter** (R-Pa.), shortly before he voted to override President Clinton's veto of the partial-birth abortion ban. · · · Specter, a prominent pro-choice Senator and former presidential candidate, had previously opposed the ban before finally switching to the pro-life side. Other senators who switched sides were Democrats **Nunn** of Georgia, **Leahy** of Vermont, and Republican **Ben Nighthorse Campbell** of Colorado.

Ponytailed **Jack Weinberg**, famous for saying, "Don't trust anyone over 30," now works as a United Plus Mileage executive and says, "I'm saddened when I see retro things. The first time, history. The second time, farce." ❧ "Don't Drink and Vote," runs an ad campaign for New Amsterdam Beer. ❧ Some ways executives relieve stress, according to the Accountemps agency: throwing plates against the wall, stretching Silly Putty during meetings, playing hockey in the parking lot, and singing opera while on hold. —*SW*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Products and services provided by Connecticut General Life Insurance Company and other operating subsidiaries of CIGNA Corporation.

Help.

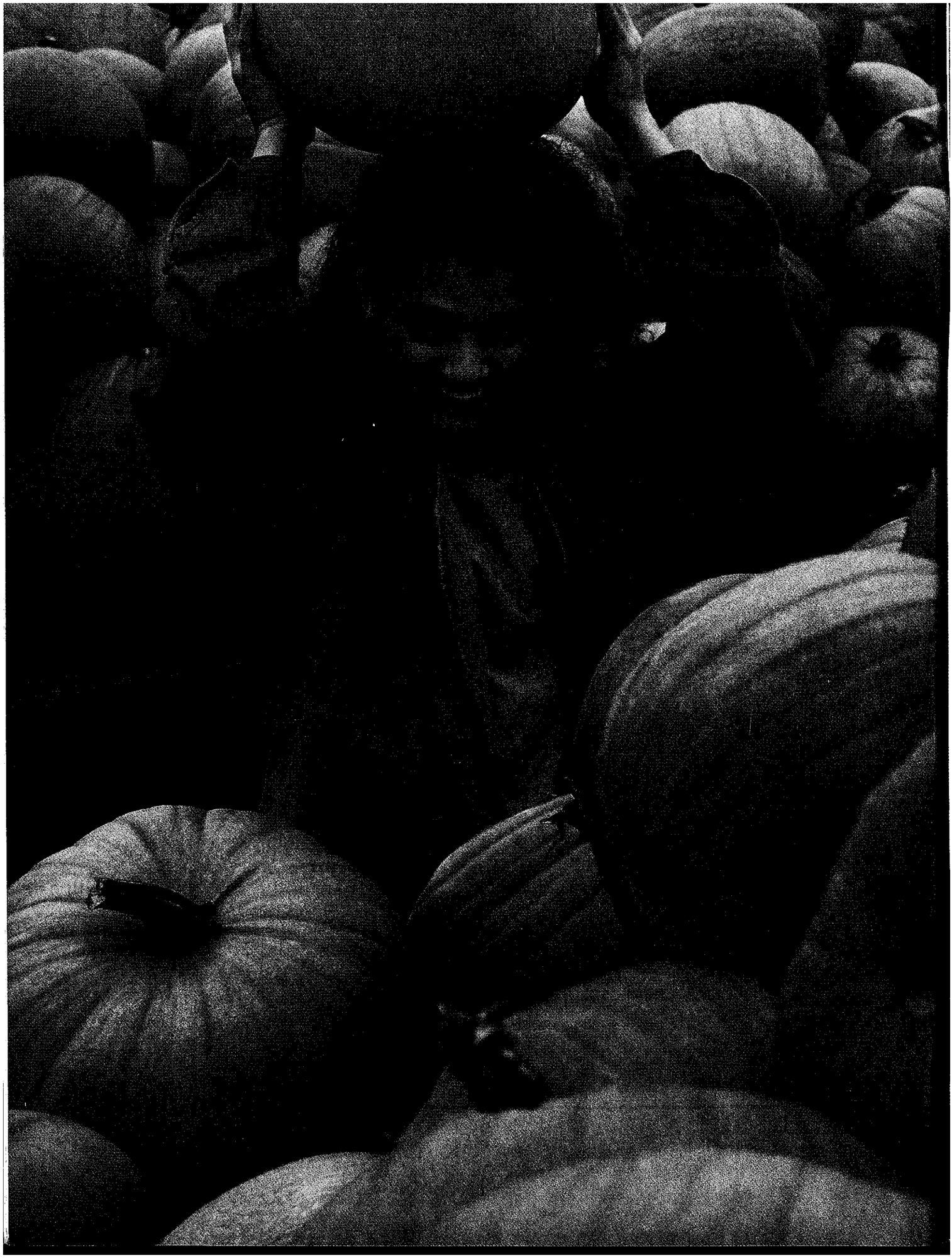
How did your parents ever do it? Pay for the doctor, the dentist, school, even manage to put a little something aside for the future? Maybe life was once about getting ahead. Today it's more about keeping up. At CIGNA, we can help. With affordable life insurance, retirement and healthcare plans. So maybe you can do something really extravagant tonight. Like taking in a movie. That is, if you can find a sitter.

CIGNA

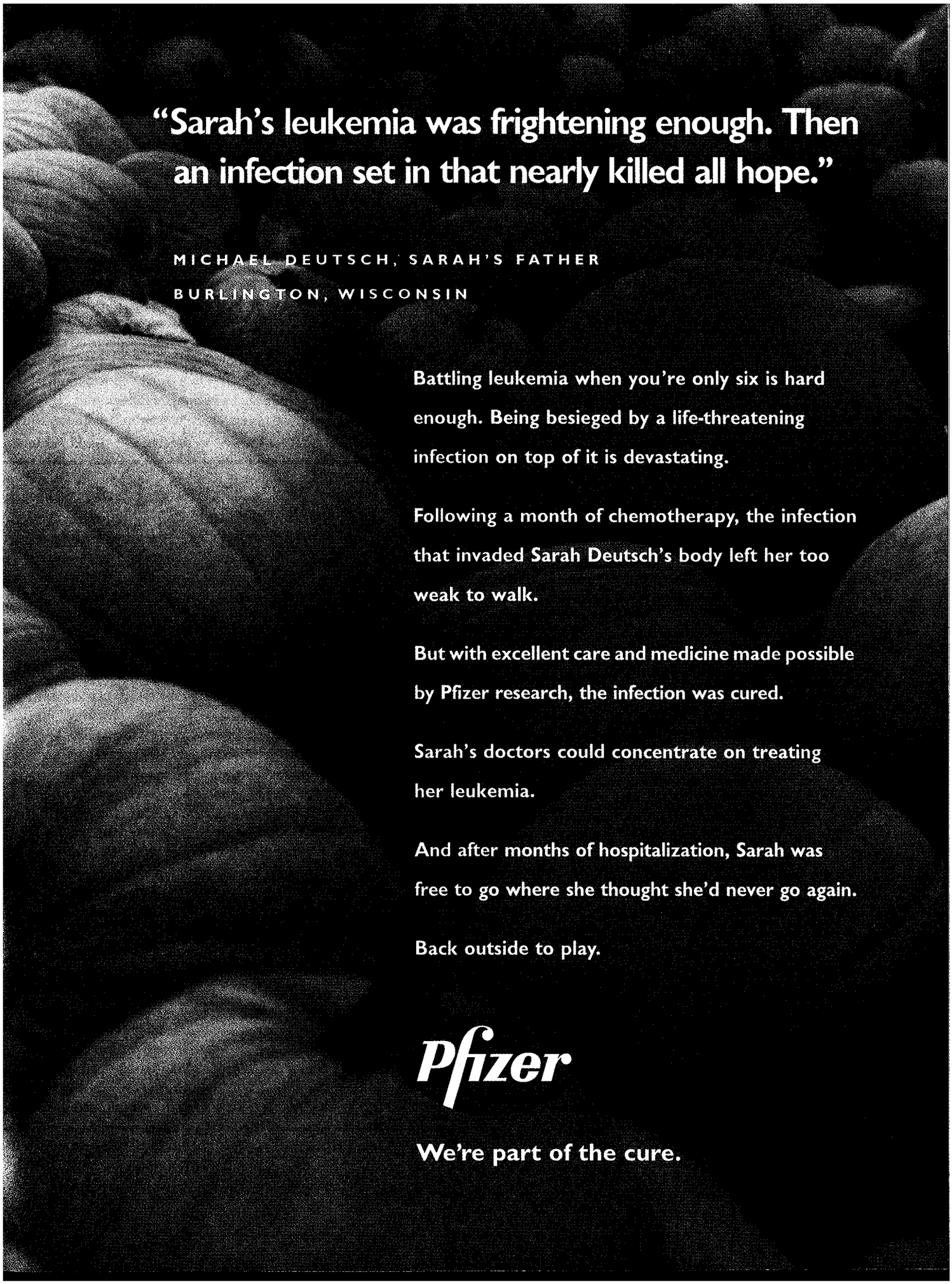
A Business of Caring.

www.cigna.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

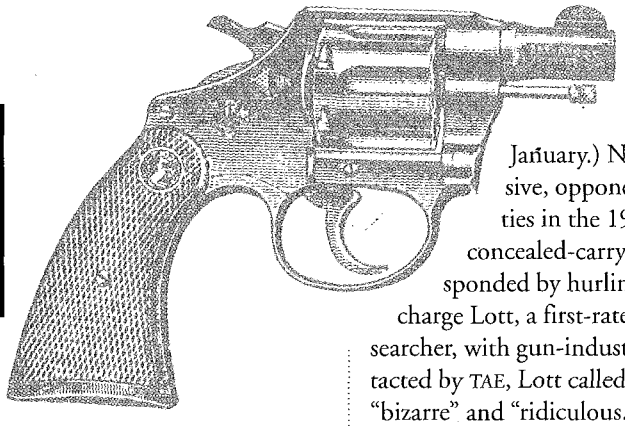


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCAN



PACK THE ROD, SPOIL THE CRIMINAL

Those states—31 at last count—that permit citizens to carry concealed handguns are doing more than respecting the right to bear arms: They are also saving lives. That's the conclusion of a path-breaking new study by John R. Lott, Jr., of the University of Chicago's School of Law and David B. Mustard of the same university's department of economics.

In a detailed examination of 15 years of data from every county in the nation, Lott and Mustard find that "allowing citizens without criminal records or histories of significant mental illness to carry concealed handguns deters violent crimes." If all 50 states had permitted law-abiding citizens to carry concealed handguns in 1992, they calculate, "citizens would have been spared approximately 1,570 murders, 4,177 rapes, 60,363 aggravated assaults, and 11,898 robberies."

"On the other hand," Lott and Mustard note, "auto theft and larceny rates rise" when states permit concealed weapons, because the more rational criminals opt for stealthy crimes in which a confrontation with the victim is less likely. (This comes as no surprise: In gun-shy Canada and Britain, burglaries when the victims are home are far more frequent than in gun-rich America, where thieves can never be sure the homeowner won't greet them with a .44.) The authors find that states allowing concealed legal handguns can expect 5 to 9 percent drops in violent crime, combined with 2 to 3 percent rises in offenses like stealing from vending machines and unattended autos. This, suggests Lott, "is certainly a substitution the country can live with."

As for the gun-controller canard about innocent neighbors frequently being shot, the authors note that "police accidentally killed 330 innocent individuals in 1993, compared to the mere 30 innocent people accidentally killed by private citizens who mistakenly believed the victim was an intruder." Lott and Mustard add that all accidental handgun deaths each year total fewer than 200, and they estimate that if all remaining states permitted legal gun carry, the increase would be "at most nine more deaths per year." That must be measured against the 1,570 murders that would likely be avoided.

As for citizens with legal handguns brandishing them petulantly in the heat of a moment, decades of evidence show that such incidents are almost nonexistent. There is only one recorded case in the entire nation of a legal-handgun shooting following an auto accident, for instance, and it was ruled to be self-defense by a motorist who was being beaten.

Lott and Mustard have mined the data and produced a gem of a paper. (It will appear in the *Journal of Legal Studies* in January.) Now on the defensive, opponents of civil liberties in the 19 states without concealed-carry laws have responded by hurling muck. They charge Lott, a first-rate university researcher, with gun-industry bias. Contacted by TAE, Lott called the charges "bizarre" and "ridiculous." He initially assumed, actually, that concealed-handgun permits had a minimal influence on rates of violent crime. "I sure as heck did not expect to find this large an effect."

AVOIDABLE VIOLENT CRIMES

If the 19 states that still forbid law-abiding citizens from carrying concealed handguns were to permit the practice, the following annual reductions in crime can be expected:

1,570	**Murders eliminated**
4,177	**Rapes eliminated**
60,363	**Aggravated Assaults eliminated**
11,898	**Robberies eliminated**

Source: "Crime, Deterrence, and Right-to-Carry Concealed Handguns," *Journal of Legal Studies*, University of Chicago, forthcoming January 1997.

HOUSING, URBAN DEVELOPMENT, AND JACK KEMP

Now that Jack Kemp has been selected as the Republican vice-presidential nominee, it's fair to look at his record as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development during the Bush administration. Unfortunately, there's little to get excited about.

- In fiscal year 1989, the year before Kemp became HUD secretary, the department employed 12,825 people and had a budget of $12.8 billion. By fiscal year 1993, the last for which Kemp was responsible, HUD employed 12,823 people, but its budget had nearly doubled to $24.8 billion.
- The secretary's efforts to privatize public housing were a flop. In four years of intensive effort, HUD only managed to sell 135 out of 1.3 million public housing units. Of these, 134 units were in one apartment complex in Washington, D.C. Kemp's other reform was an effort to create resident management units so that people who lived in public housing complexes could manage their own apartment buildings. But in 1995, HUD's inspector general reported that after spending $22 million, only 15 of the 328 resident management associations were performing the management functions that they were supposed to be performing.
- Under Kemp, HUD continued to fund leftish political advocacy organizations like the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), the Lawyers Committee on Civil Rights,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the American Association of Retired Persons.

Jack Kemp was not wholly responsible for HUD's bloat. A Democratic Congress frequently gave him more tax dollars than he asked for, and Congress often frustrated sensible reform, requiring, for example, that HUD build one new apartment for each apartment the government closed or sold. This mandate blocked privatization and provided a perverse incentive for HUD to keep long-shuttered apartment buildings in its inventory.

Jack Kemp inherited a large, wasteful bureaucracy and passed on the same bureaucracy to the Clinton administration with a budget twice as big as when he entered the cabinet—a lesson in just how dogged one must be in order to make real, rather than just rhetorical, reductions in the federal colossus.

IT'S A MALL WORLD

The United States currently boasts around 2,000 indoor malls. They account for the bulk of the nation's retail sales, they have become entertainment destinations, and in many places they are now what passes for the community center. The $625 million Mall of America, opened in 1992 in suburban Bloomington, Minnesota, is the country's largest, housing 400 shops and stores and nightclubs, plus a seven-acre "Camp Snoopy" amusement park, under 100 acres of roof. A local school board has made plans to open a 400-student public school in the mall's basement. The owners expect 40 million annual visits, and some airlines and travel agents now promote the mall as an appropriate destination for family vacations. Got a three-day weekend? Fly to a mall.

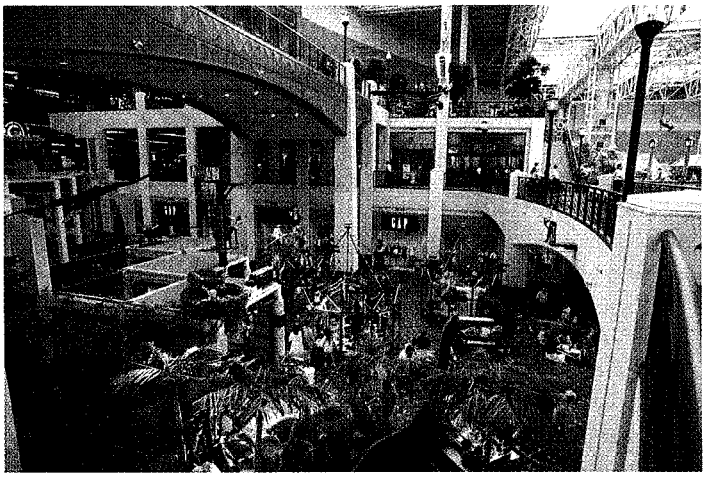
This is no joke. The state Department of Tourism says that Virginia's Potomac Mills Mall is now one of the biggest tourist destinations in the commonwealth, and that fully 7 percent of all households who travel to Virginia from out of state come to shop there. The mall had half-again as many total visitors in 1992 as drove along the Blue Ridge Parkway, the top traditional tourist draw in the state, and three or four times as many as stopped at colonial Williamsburg.

Only 25 percent of the people who head to malls these days say they are going to buy a particular item. And studies show that three of the top four leisure destinations these days are shopping related: Malls rank first, outlet stores come in at third, and antique shops are fourth. In suburbanized America, shopping has become a pastime in and of itself.

URBAN MALL ALLURE

Recently, malls have become extremely popular even within central cities. Here, unlike in the 'burbs, the appeal is not easy parking. So what is the mall allure?

Perhaps the biggest secret is this: *Malls are not public places.* One of the greatest failures of liberal government has been its unwillingness to defend order and civilized behavior in public space. Criminals, panhandlers, graffiti-taggers, and loiterers have had a free run of the streets. Against this background, think of the typical mall as a fort. (Which is what most of them look like.) Self-contained urban malls are a somewhat sad attempt to create islands of decency in the midst of a disordered world. City officials may not be willing to act against muggers and bums, but mall managers can and do.



© GAMMA LIAISON / ROY GUMPEL

ACTOR IN THE WHITE HOUSE

The confusion that Bill Clinton's 1996 shift to the right has inspired among Republican rivals is captured in a comment by California Attorney General Dan Lungren. After returning from his first face-to-face meeting with the President, Lungren suggested to his family that "Bill Clinton is Ronald Reagan played by Jimmy Swaggart."

Until reflexive liberalism can be uprooted from city politics, mall-making provides one of the few practical ways of keeping cities habitable. The broad formula is to privatize urban institutions so that the decent sentiments of the majority of citizens can hold forth in defined, non-publicly governed areas.

It is no accident that private condominium associations have replaced street neighborhoods. When public parks became unusable, private health clubs sprang up. Privately managed and funded "Business Improvement Districts" now collect the trash and police the streets in many shopping districts where city government has proved incompetent at those tasks. In most inner cities, private schools are the only choice for a family serious about education.

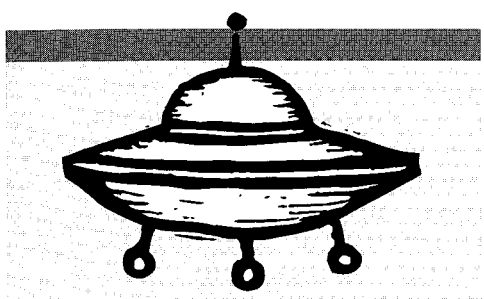
It is in some ways an unfortunate process, this pulling back into the safety of private domains. But it's a natural and necessary response so long as our cities remain as barbaric as they have become.

NYPD, INC.

In his new book, *The Heroic Enterprise*, John Hood notes that "businesses frustrated with the slow response and lack of effectiveness of many urban police departments, have turned to alternative ways of guaranteeing worker and consumer safety.... By 1990 private security guards outnumbered public

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

law enforcement officers by nearly three to one, while private businesses, neighborhoods, and individuals spent $52 billion on private security protection." Recently, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that this now includes private "commando patrols" hired to keep drug dealers and gang members out of privately owned low-income housing complexes. "Dressed all in black—from their spit-polished combat boots to bulletproof vests—the CIS officers now patrol the premises with .357 magnum pistols, Mace, and two-way radios. Neighborhood kids have dubbed them 'Ninjas' and 'Robocops.' 'We dress to intimidate the bad guys—we're not here to play,' explains CIS's 30-year-old founder and chief executive, K.C. Poulin.... The Ninjas have limited arrest powers. Mainly, they turn up the heat: monitoring drug dealers' movements, issuing trespass warnings to intruders, and prodding landlords to issue eviction notices." Crime and disturbances are down by between half and 95 percent in the 50 Florida apartment complexes patrolled by CIS, the *Journal* reports.



IT'S ONLY ENTERTAINMENT

Chris Carter and Howard Gordon, creator and executive producer respectively of the TV show "The X Files," have just been sued for fondling female employees and telling them that they intended to "get them pregnant." The London *Times* reports that such incidents are rampant in the managerial suites of entertainment companies today, citing as typical the example of Marko Babineau, general manager of giant Geffen Records, who paid a $700,000 settlement to an assistant after, among other excesses, masturbating in front of her.

These are not the flaky hired celebrities but the executives of our big entertainment companies. And they wonder why there's a backlash against Hollywood.

HEROIN AS COMEDY

Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services

It's back! No, not the art movie, you dummy. The art movie never went away. It's heroin! Dressed in fancy new duds as the latest subject of sophisticated comedy. Sounds interesting, doesn't it? A baby dying of neglect because its mother is strung out on heroin? A man having his leg amputated because of heroin addiction? You must admit it's challenging comic material. And *Trainspotting*, a droll tale of heroin addiction in Scotland, now playing at 350 theaters in the U.S., with $52 million in worldwide receipts so far, is unquestionably the smash hit art movie of '96.

The dithyrambic praise for the film from our quality press ("brilliant," "dazzling," "hilarious," "fresh," "jubilant," "exultant," "stylish," "irresistable"), doesn't connect easily with, for instance, the delightful scene when one of the characters dives into a very dirty toilet bowl for a heroin suppository that slipped out. This, as you can see, is really funny stuff. Our characters, with almost nothing to support them in the way of plot, gambol lightheartedly through such hilarious scenes as an addict lying comotose in the midst of his vomit and fecal matter.

Unlike the Cheech and Chong movies of some years back, in which the leading characters had comic adventures while under the influence of marijuana, the heroin addicts of *Trainspotting* are deprived of any redeeming virtues. They lie to each other, steal from each other, betray each other. Their lack of the slightest speck of morality or conscience, as they sink into the squalid depths of heroin addiction, is apparently funny if you're sophisticated enough.

With U.S. heroin emergency-room cases rising to 38,100 in the first half of 1995 from 30,000 the year before, and American cities being hit by a new, more addictive version of heroin that causes violent behavior, and the fashion industry now doing its bit by glamorizing clammy-skinned, sunken-eyed models embodying (incredibly) "heroin chic," the Clinton administration has swung into action. At the Democratic convention in Chicago, it sponsored a full-cast musical number from the Broadway hit *Rent*, which is populated entirely with lovable East Village druggies, AIDS victims, a drag queen, and other rebels against our social order such as it is.

Irvine Welsh, speaking about his novel on which *Trainspotting* is based, makes one thing clear: His characters are not "victims," and their heroin addiction is not the result of economic repression or any of those old-fashioned Marxist reasons. The problem is larger than that. It is "life," the "world." What Mr. Welsh has fixed on as the root of the heroin epidemic is *boredom*.

This red-hot idea that life is boring is a profoundly aristocratic attitude, because it is entirely dependent on the existence of leisure. We seem to be experiencing a revival of alienation, as both

WASHINGTON INTERNSHIPS

Are you a reliable, hard-working student interested in journalism and politics?

***The American Enterprise* is offering full- and part-time internships at our Washington office. Positions are unpaid, but provide a chance to be part of a small team doing exciting work. Tasks a mix of research, administration, writing, and business affairs. Fax résumés to 202-862-5867, or write Tom Switzer, *The American Enterprise*, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the well-to-do and welfare-state freeloaders find life increasingly boring. This is true democracy.

But what is one to think of those elite persons crowding into American art houses to laugh gaily at heroin addiction? Do they really find drug addiction funny? Perhaps they're laughing in a compassionate way.

*—**Richard Grenier** is a columnist for* The Washington Times.

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT

Under the President's plan for new restrictions on tobacco advertising and sales, the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech will protect a T-shirt with pornographic words and symbols, or with a picture of a hypodermic needle, or a picture of an American flag set ablaze, but "Marlboro" and "Kent" will be prohibited.

Decisions to use color or black-and-white in certain ads will be decreed by executive order, based on recommendations from a regulatory agency. Whether pictures may be used will also be determined by the Executive Office. Advertising at sporting events will be similarly controlled.

The Fifth Amendment's due-process protections for property will be redefined, with certain manufacturers now ordered to spend some of their profits to advocate that their products not be purchased. Mandates never voted on by a legislative body but written by an organ of the executive branch and signed by the President will become *laws*.

James Madison warned that "there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power, than by violent and sudden usurpations." Our federal government is on a crusade against tobacco today. What will it be tomorrow?

*—**Bruce Herschensohn** is a distinguished fellow with the Claremont Institute (1-909-626-6825), which published a longer version of this essay .*

ZONING KILLS COMMUNITY LIFE

Urban decay, suburban sprawl, and the disintegration of small towns are often blamed on a lack of government planning. The truth, though, is more nearly the opposite. In particular, the detailed zoning laws governments instituted all across America between the 1930s and 1970s have been very harmful.

■ "The congested, unsatisfying suburban sprawl and disintegrating city centers of today are not the products of laissez-faire or mindless greed," writes visionary architect Andres Duany (profiled on pages 46-50). They are the "direct result of zoning and building ordinances zealously administered by planning departments."

American zoning, he points out, "requires the rigid segregation of housing, commerce, and industry. That approach to zoning is a residue of the Industrial Revolution, which made it seem desirable to move people's homes away from the dark satanic mills. Such distancing is no longer necessary, of course, since most contemporary office parks and electronics plants make extraordinarily benign neighbors."

Traditionally, Duany notes, neighborhoods have contained not only houses but also corner stores, dentists, launderers and cobblers, local restaurants, barbers, coffee shops, and other useful small establishments. Schools, parks, churches, offices and workshops have been folded in amongst residences. Under modern codes, however, these various enterprises must be rigidly isolated one from another. The "office park," the "mall," and the "residential tract" are hung separately, each with its own entrance, off a heavily trafficked catchall road. Small service establishments are strung in a chaotic jumble along the shoulders of that same collector street, which serves as the only common civic boulevard. "Even doctors' offices are kept strictly isolated from the people who use them," Duany complains.

As a result, the elements a household needs in a typical day are diffused over a wide area. "They have never been properly combined," Duany says. "It is as if we were expected to eat, rather than a completed omelet, first the eggs, then the cheese, and then the green peppers." Consequently, "automobile traffic and its landscape have become the central, unavoidable experience of the public realm. The traditional pattern of walkable, mixed-use neighborhoods has been prohibited."

Paradoxically, planning controls erected by government to "protect" communities have actually ruined community life. "Designers find themselves in the ironic situation of being forbidden from building in the manner of our admired historic places," Duany writes. "One cannot propose a new Annapolis, Marblehead, or Key West, without seeking substantial variances from current codes." Older towns built before the planning codes were written are now so superior and unusual that they have actually become tourist sites, Duany observes. Places like Nantucket; Manchester, New Hampshire; Galveston, Texas; Alexandria, Virginia; and the sections of Baltimore and Philadelphia around their markets are now destinations to be gawked at.

"Tourists flock to Sonoma, California, and places like it all over the country. Mount Dora, Florida, another tourist attraction, has two good blocks. Winter Park has four. Yet they are like magic. People come and wander around, entranced by the magic of urbanism that is denied them in the conventional suburb. This also explains the success of Disneyland and Disney World. Visitors do not spend as much time on the rides as they do wandering around Main Street, USA, and through the multinational urban constructions of Epcot, getting the civic kicks that they cannot get at home."

If many of our cities and suburbs seem fractured, unattractive, and out of control, it's precisely because they are too much under control, insists Duany.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Zoning Kills Community Life (cont.)

■ James Howard Kunstler, who has written two books on town design, similarly notes in the *American Arts Quarterly* that "Main Street is illegal in most of America today. You can't build it, even if you want to. You can't add to it or extend it where it already exists. The zoning codes tell you that any new building has to be set back from the road and from the side and rear property lines 75 feet. With those setbacks everything is so spread out there's no way you can walk it. Don't even bother putting sidewalks in.

"When people dream about the kind of ideal neighborhood they'd like to live in, they conjure up an image of tree-lined streets and woodframe houses with front porches. That's Elm Street, the classic American small town. You can't build it today under our laws, because of large-lot zoning, and because highway engineers have decided that trees on streets are a menace to motorists.

"When people instituted large-lot zoning, they thought it would give them a country-like setting, but all they got was a yard too big to mow and too small to plow, and no sense of a neighborhood. We know that it doesn't work. We know that it's not making people happy. We know that the cost of servicing these subdivisions is bankrupting our towns. Yet we cling to these codes.

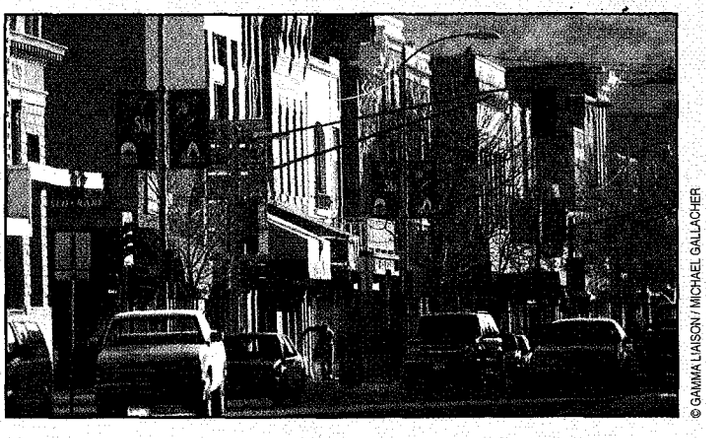
"Zoning was invented in the early 1900s as a rational way to protect the value of residential city neighborhoods against glue factories and other obnoxious industrial activities. After World War II we carried this idea to extremes. We declared that shopping was an obnoxious activity and that nobody should be allowed to live near it. That's why every strip mall in the United States is only one-story high. It was deemed inhumane to let people live over Chinese restaurants and plant shops. For 5,000 years humans have been living over stores; 50 years ago we made it illegal....

"Our affordable housing crisis is entirely of our own making. We think the government must step in and solve this problem by going into the house-building business. In other societies, in Britain and Australia, for example, the government gives a special tax break to anyone who puts in an accessory apartment on their property. This is one kind of affordable housing we could have more of in America, at the stroke of a pen. We could create a vast supply of decent housing practically overnight, without bureaucracy or public funds. To make it slumproof, stipulate that it must be owner-occupied. Let the landlord be the policeman.

"Accessory apartments are good for all parties concerned. The income derived from rents makes a substantial dent in the owner's mortgage, so that his home is more affordable, too. At the same time, it provides a decent dwelling for someone not inclined to buy a house. It is good for the community, because it brings more diversity in age and income groups to the neighborhood. But zoning often forbids it.

"Planning today is administration: issuing permits, filling out forms, shuffling papers. At Harvard the planning department was kicked out of the architecture school and installed in the school of government.

"Meanwhile, Americans know what a good place feels like. We go to Charleston, South Carolina, and Beacon Hill in Boston, Savannah, Georgetown, and towns in Vermont. We like



© GAMMA L'AISON / MICHAEL GALLACHER

the intimacy of the streets, the mix of shops with the variety of people, the nearness of genuine countryside. Many Americans make the mistake of thinking they like these places simply because they're old and picturesque. But what they're really enjoying are physical relationships between structures—relationships that can no longer be built under our laws."

■ Philadelphia architect Ralph Muldrow concurs: "Porches, storefronts with residential uses above, defined edges of streets, and proportions and rhythms in façade treatments based on precedents have been either ignored or even outlawed by the zoning codes which gained prominence after World War II, when planning departments were given extensive control over development. These zoning techniques unfortunately tended to be two-dimensional compartmentalizations of 'uses' which would then be connected by highways. The resultant suburban sprawl has covered huge amounts of land and greatly undermined the heretofore efficient American city."

■ Attorney and author George Liebmann concludes from his extensive research on American community life that "many pressing social problems, including homelessness, social isolation of the elderly, and inadequate child care have a single cause: zoning restrictions." There is a crying need for liberalization of government restrictions on home occupations, he argues, and for dropping bans on creation of small accessory apartments within single-family homes. Also, "it is not easy to justify the prohibition of very small retail establishments from residential neighborhoods. The absurdity of the health and safety rationale for prohibition has been recognized since the dawn of zoning, one of whose fathers, Albert Bettman, once confessed, 'there have been mighty healthy kids raised over grocery stores.'" (Margaret Thatcher comes to mind.)

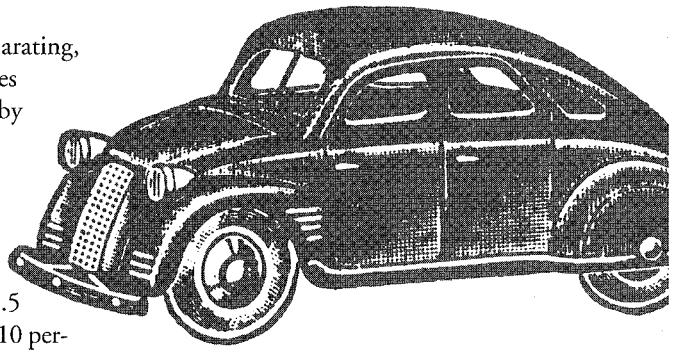
Many Americans, complains Liebmann, "are compelled by zoning to commute to a distant office (zoned out of the neighborhood), to drive long distances for even the simplest household purchases (as a result of the exclusion of convenience stores), to travel further long distances to visit parents (as a result of the exclusion of apartments, including accessory apartments)." Zoning, urbanist Victor Gruen concluded years ago, is a "destroyer of urbane qualities and urban activities."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A SHORT HISTORY OF CITY TRANSPORT

Man's reluctance to undertake regular travels lasting longer than 60 minutes has been a constant over thousands of years of community evolution. Since early cities were pedestrian affairs, that meant recurring local trips were limited to about 3 miles or less. Most daily transactions took place in a circle even tighter than that. The bulk of any family's purchases were made within a few blocks of their dwelling. Most jobs were similarly close. This was the rule for centuries: As late as the mid-1800s, three-quarters of all workers in New York City still worked from their homes.

This began to change in the 1830s. The horse-drawn streetcar at least doubled the feasible distance for regular travel, and commuter railroads expanded the circle even further. This marked the beginning of the end for the metropolis built as a collection of semi-autonomous neighborhood cells, and the beginning of massive centralization. By the 1920s, the average Chicago commuter traveled 1.5 miles to work, and homes and workplaces were in the process of rapidly separating, with average commuting distances lengthening to almost five miles by 1960, and over ten miles today.



The arrival of the automobile early this century provided the fateful shove. The number of registered motor vehicles jumped from 8,000 in 1900 to 10.5 million by 1921, or one for every 10 persons. So popular were cars that Robert and Helen Lynd found in their classic "Middletown" study that 21 working-class families in Muncie, Indiana, in 1924 had bought cars even though they didn't own a bathtub!

Motor vehicles gave their owners a quick-travel zone of around 2,500 square miles. This meant the end of localism and intimacy in social and commercial relations, and it happened almost overnight. Families immediately began to relocate to bigger, inexpensive, new quarters in freshly opened districts. Perhaps 15 million Americans had decamped to new mass-built communities by the 1930s.

Because their new houses were located far from the workplaces, shops, and friends and relatives of established neighborhoods, suburbanites found themselves utterly dependent upon their cars. Vehicle ownership increased rapidly to an average of one per household, then one per worker, until in the mid-1980s there were actually more licensed vehicles in the country than licensed drivers. Average vehicle travel, which had stood at just 1.4 miles per person per day in 1920, exceeded 6 miles by 1960, and reached 27 miles per person per day in 1990. In some suburbs, families now average 13 private car trips daily.

Not only a great deal of family time, but also lots of family money is now devoted to transportation. In constant dollars, consumer spending on transport went up 3½ times between 1930 and 1960, and then doubled again by the end of the 1980s—by which time American households were devoting fully 21 percent of their total discretionary spending to transport.

There has also been enormous government spending in support of the automobile. Road maintenance is now one of the nation's largest public expenses. In the single year 1992, for instance, governments spent more than $70 billion on highways. This enormous public subsidy for free roads is a central prop of suburbia.

ART, JOHN, AND BILL UNITED

The most important function of community life, writes historian Lewis Mumford, is "to unite the scattered fragments of the human personality…repairing the damage that has been done by vocational separation, by tribalisms and nationalisms, by the absence of organic partnerships."

One unglorious little community cooperative that we tend to take for granted is that distinctly American institution, the volunteer fire and rescue squad. Many of our hometowns would be either more dangerous or more tax-burdened if we couldn't count on these units. The volunteers who staff them, of course, assume personal risks as well as giving their time. "There are a lot of ruined dinners in these households," states the fire chief in the small city of 29,000 people where one of your editors lives. "It is a commitment," remarks Chris Puleo, a dedicated local volunteer. "You have to get up at ungodly hours and go to a stranger's house who needs your help."

In this county like many others, the squads are beginning to face serious manpower shortages. "Towns that have become too affluent have problems getting volunteers," says the chief in a nearby village. "Affluent people tend not to have the time or the inclination." He particularly attributes the growing difficulties in recruiting volunteers "to the rise of bedroom communities, which tend to diminish residents' sense of community responsibility."

A few years ago the *New York Times* ran a small news item that captured this problem poignantly: "Raritan Township, N.J.—The drastic remaking of this old farm town has changed what it means to

AMPLIFIED TAX FIDDLING

Forbes **recently noted that there have been more than 5,000 changes in the federal tax code just in the last decade. There are now more lobbyists trying to manipulate the tax code than there are lobbying for various kinds of government spending (and we know how big that group is). Forbes quotes House Majority Leader Dick Armey suggesting that "the flat tax would have a chilling effect on the lobbying industry and transform the entire political culture in Washington."**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be a volunteer. In 1957, volunteers built the township's first fire truck, scrounging parts from junk. The chassis came from an old oil tanker, the water pump was donated, and the engine was pulled from a wrecked Mercury. Art Lentini, a mechanic, John Carberry, a lawyer, and Bill Worthington, a farmer, organized everybody. Cleaning all the parts, welding them together and then painting the rig took a year.

"But now that inspired country camaraderie has vanished along with most of the dairy and egg farmers who gave Raritan Township its identity for decades. Volunteerism today, such as it is, is represented by a trickle of new residents willing to join town boards. In 1987, 13 people offered to serve out of about 15,000 residents. Most come to government with either a gripe or a wish-list as the rural community is reshaped into a white-collar suburb in the hills 60 miles west of Manhattan....

"No newcomers, though, are joining the fire department, once Raritan's social hub, or the rescue squad. Volunteers are their lifeblood, but as in suburbs everywhere, their membership is stagnant."

In small towns and old-style city neighborhoods, Art the mechanic and John the lawyer and Bill the farmer really did interact regularly and heartily. In suburban America that doesn't happen as much. And that's too bad.

ROBERT NISBET vs. THE NANNY STATE

Just as "big government" has become anathema and "community" and "civil society" all the trend, America has lost one of her pioneering thinkers on the connection between the two: former AEI scholar and academic advisor Robert Nisbet.

The state grows not primarily because of conniving special interests, or ideologues, or irresistible historical or economic forces, Nisbet maintained, but because it is a lazy solution to mankind's deep hunger for community—our enduring need "for a clear sense of cultural purpose, membership, status, and continuity."

By absorbing the functions and authority of smaller and more intimate associations that have historically supplied community—families, neighborhoods, churches, ethnic and voluntary groups—the state poses a choice to citizens: Either accept the enveloping embrace of a new, vastly more controlling national community, or remain a rootless, isolated fragment lost in individualism.

To seduce the citizen, Nisbet explained, the state uses warm imagery of the nation as a family, stirring unity rhetoric during times of war or crisis, and potent national symbols of a "mystic political oneness." Recent appeals to a nationalized community include President Johnson's "war on poverty," President Carter's "war on the energy problem," President Kennedy's calls for national service, Mario Cuomo's repeated argument that "this nation is at its best only when we see ourselves, all of us, as one family," and Hillary Clinton's August pronouncement that "it takes a village...it takes a President" to rear our children. These warm and fuzzy images, Nisbet cautioned, only prepare us for bondage to an impersonal national state.

At the same time, he warned against relying solely on the doctrine of individualism to check state expansion. Aggressive promotion of ruggedly self-sufficient individuals on the make, while appealing to capitalists and libertarians, reminds many average citizens of their own loneliness and isolation under modern conditions, Nisbet warned. What for some is an exhilarating breeze from capitalism's high-tech "third wave" seems to other Americans a forbiddingly icy blast from the alien reaches of cyberspace.

How, then, can we satisfy the yearning for community while preserving freedom against the grasp of the state? By restoring the "intermediate associations" of neighborhoods, churches, localities, and voluntary groups, Nisbet answers. Give them back their functions and authority, and they will not only satisfy the longing for membership and belonging, but also, in their vigorous and decentralized multiplicity, provide freedom-preserving buffers against government.

When Nisbet launched this prescription in his 1953 book *The Quest for Community,* it was not immediately embraced by the predominantly libertarian conservatism of the 1950s and '60s. *National Review's* Frank Meyer, for example, could not understand why we would want to replace the "all-powerful totalitarian state" with the "subtler, quieter tyranny of 'customarily' imposed community.'" Initially, Nisbet's ideas found more resonance among the counter-culturists of the New Left. But today there is enthusiasm on right and left alike for decentralization, community-building, restoring civil so-

DOES CHARACTER COUNT?

In a September speech about the relevance of character issues in judging political candidates, Bill Bennett had this to say:

When I was down in North Carolina recently, one person said to me, quite remarkably, "You can't judge a man by his behavior." As Thomas More said, "Ladies and gentlemen, I give you the times."

Another person said—and this, I think, is fairly widespread around the country—"What do I care about what the President does, as long as he takes care of me, and is responding to my needs?"

Well, if that's your position, you should buy your watches from people in ski masks. Because if they're taking care of you, what should it matter to you where they got their goods? What should it matter how they conduct themselves?

If we now say that these things don't matter, we have sent a message to our children that will have profound consequences.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ciety, and empowering neighborhood institutions. When even prominent Democrats admit that "we can no longer rely on big institutions to take care of us...it is time to craft new policies and institutions that enable us to take care of ourselves and each other," then it is safe to say we are all Nisbetians now.

THE NEW URBAN ORDER

A new way of fighting crime allowed New York City police to arrest John Royster this summer on charges of committing a week-long rampage that left four women beaten, one fatally. In March he was stopped for vaulting a subway turnstile (a crime that used to be overlooked on the grounds that the police had bigger fish to fry), and issued a summons. Before being released, he was fingerprinted. And three months later those prints led to his arrest for bloody crimes.

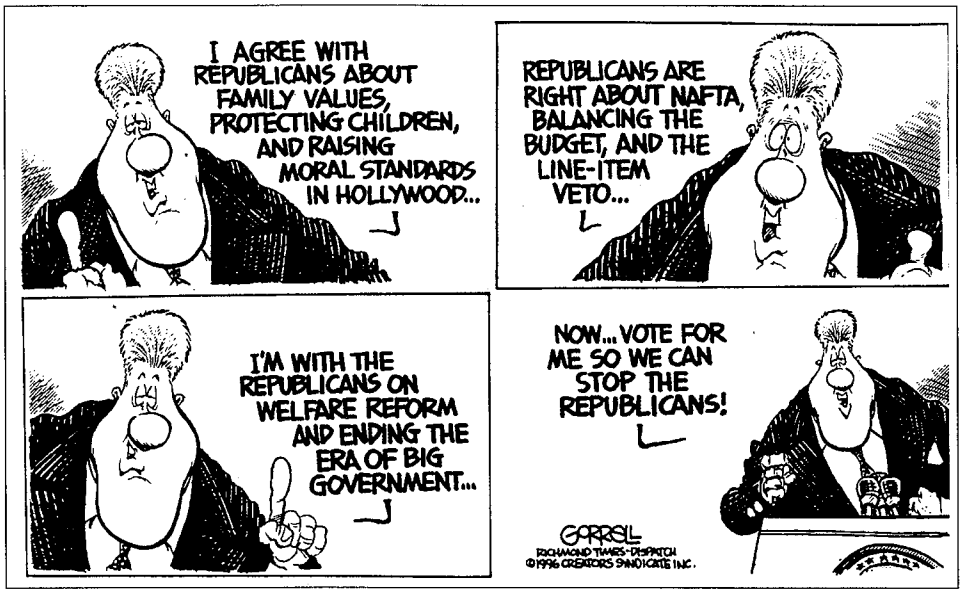
Thanks to dogged police work like this, growing out of stiffened political resolve, New York City's crime rate is down dramatically. Homicides have declined by 45 percent since 1993, making New York statistically as safe today as Boise.

Reluctant to accept the reactionary idea that crime is reduced by tougher crime fighting, sophisticates at *The New Yorker* recently suggested that the '90s crime drop requires arcane new explanations. Homicide, a recent article quotes sociologists saying, is actually an epidemic—an infectious disease that nosedives when it has run its course.

There is a much simpler explanation for the turnarounds occuring in New York and elsewhere, but it requires crediting policies and people *The New Yorker* can't abide. In New York, for instance, crime is down mostly because Mayor Rudy Giuliani and his police commissioner decided they would not tolerate it, on any level. The Fulton Fish Market was cleansed of mob influence and order was restored in public places, including subways where anti-social behavior used to be common. The self-expression of graffiti "artists" was suppressed, whether the ACLU liked it or not, and the entrepreneurial spirits of squeegee-wielding toughs were also squelched.

The result is that New York is becoming livable again. Ordinary, law-abiding non-sociologists are rejoicing. They know that cracking down on petty lawlessness reduces serious crimes as well. If you don't believe that, ask John Royster.

*—**Alan Pell Crawford** is senior counselor with Martin Public Relations in Richmond, Virginia.*



Reprinted by permission: Creators Syndicate

IS THE DOLE ECONOMIC PLAN RESPONSIBLE?

To increase economic growth, presidential candidate Robert Dole has produced an economic plan that calls for $548 billion in tax cuts over six years. The major elements are a $406 billion across-the-board income-tax cut of 15 percent, and a $75 billion tax credit of $500 per child for low- and middle-income families. For a married couple with two children earning $35,000, federal income taxes will fall by about half, from $2,715 to $1,308. For a family with two children earning $75,000, the federal tax bite drops from $8,549 to $6,267.

To balance the tax cuts, Dole proposes $217 billion in new reductions in government spending, on top of the budget changes approved by Congress in June: $90 billion in administrative cuts, $34 billion from the sale of broadcast frequencies, $47 billion from downsizing the departments of energy and commerce, and $46 billion from a 1 percent spending decrease in all other programs. The plan projects $147 billion in increased tax revenues over the six years on the expectation that the economy's annual growth rate will rise to 3.5 percent (compared to 5.2 and 4.0 percent in the periods after the Kennedy and Reagan tax cuts).

Critics claim Dole's tax cut would reduce government revenues and explode the deficit, as they claim happened in the 1980s. But the economic history of the 1980s is that growing federal budget deficits were caused by excessive spending, not a lack of tax revenue. Despite Reagan's lower tax rates, federal tax revenues jumped by one-third in real dollars from 1981-89. The problem was that Congress increased spending by $1.28 for every new tax dollar that flowed into the federal coffers. With the exception of 1984, Congress's spending exceeded Reagan's budget requests every year from '81 and '89. Because of the "ingenuity of the federal bureaucracy" and the "avarice of Congress," says Reagan economic advisor Martin Anderson, government spending in the '80s "managed to outrace the largest increase in federal revenue in U.S. history."

With the public now more amenable to government downsizing, a line item veto in place, a much more conservative Congress, and no Soviet Union to defend against, a 1980s-style spending binge and deficit scenario is unlikely. Tax cuts will more likely deliver higher take-home pay, a growing economy, more jobs, less welfare, and eventually a balanced budget.

*—**Ralph R. Reiland** is associate professor of economics at Robert Morris College in Pittsburgh.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

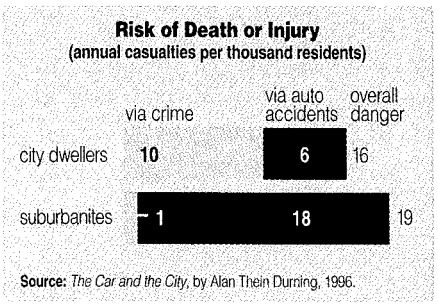
By Karl Zinsmeister

Indicators

DANGEROUS SUBURBS

The crime dangers of cities are well known. What is less often acknowledged is the traffic dangers of suburbia.

In a new book, researcher Alan Durning, uses census, police, and Justice Department data to show that while suburbanites less often fall prey to criminals, they are much more likely to be killed or injured in a car crash. The net result is that **suburbanites are actually at greater risk of life and limb on a daily basis than city residents.**



Source: *The Car and the City*, by Alan Thein Durning, 1996.

SCHOOL CHOICE RESULTS

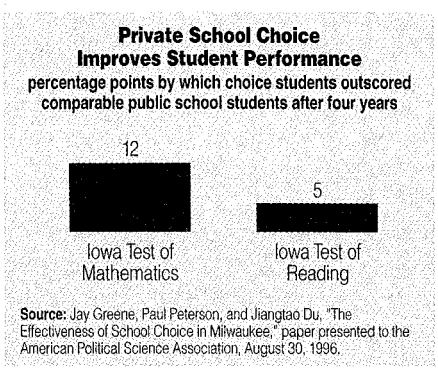
As school choice experiments spread to Cleveland and other cities this year, there is new evidence that the pioneering program set up by Milwaukee is producing very strong results.

Thanks to opposition from teachers' unions, the Milwaukee test is small, involving only 1,356 children and a tightly limited set of secular private schools. Each participant is given a voucher worth half of what the public schools spend per student, which he or she can use to enroll at one of the private schools participating in the experiment.

Fully 97 percent of the children using vouchers are black or Hispanic, only 24 percent have married parents, and their average annual family income is just $11,000. So this is emphatically not a case of private schools "skimming off the cream of students" as enemies of private schooling often charge.

Choice opponents have insisted that Milwaukee will get no academic benefits from its test, but in August the first rigorous study of participating students was released by researchers from Harvard and the University of Houston. **The investigators found that four years after enrolling in a choice school, the average student was scoring 12 percentage points higher in math and 5 points higher in reading than comparable public school students.**

This, the authors note, is a huge improvement as educational reforms go. They point out that **if Milwaukee's school choice program were replicated nationwide it could, among other things, close the test-score gap between minority and white students by half.**



Source: Jay Greene, Paul Peterson, and Jiangtao Du, "The Effectiveness of School Choice in Milwaukee," paper presented to the American Political Science Association, August 30, 1996.

WHO GETS ABORTIONS?

Recently, the president of Planned Parenthood's research arm, Jeannie Rosoff, suggested that "Abortion is a very common experience. It's either yourself, or your sister, or your closest friend." Her organization asserts that half of American women will get an abortion at some point in their lives.

Basic math suggests that is wrong. Since 1973 when the Supreme Court made abortions available on request for any reason, a little over 30 million of the surgeries have been conducted in the U.S. Meanwhile, the number of American women who have been of childbearing age during that period sums to around 100 million. So: If every abortion was carried out on a different mother, that would mean that about a third of all fertile U.S. women had abortions. But the reality is that those terminations were *not* carried out on 30 million different women: A nationwide study released by Planned Parenthood in August showed that **45 percent of all women who undergo abortions today have already had at least one previously.** So a relatively concentrated group of repeat aborters account for a big portion of those 30 million terminations since 1973, and **the large majority of American women have no recourse to abortion at all in their lifetime.**

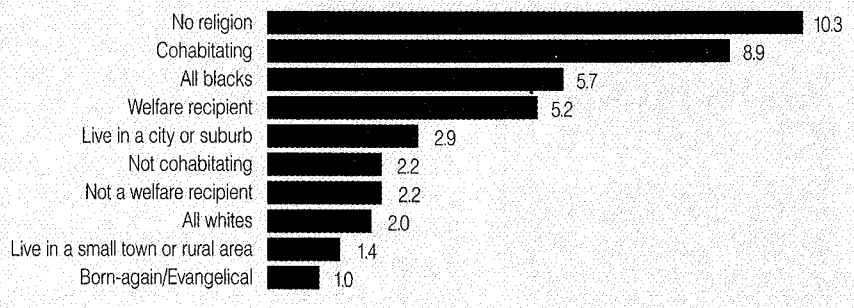
Who exactly are the individuals who produce most abortions? Planned Parenthood's recently released study, which is the first demographic profile of abortion-seekers in nearly a decade, shows sharp variations across groups. The single strongest predictor is religion. Non-religious women are more than four times likelier than the general population to have an abortion, and *ten* times likelier than women who describe themselves as born-again or evangelical (this latter group comprising fully 46 percent of all U.S. women age 15–44).

The second strongest link to willingness to abort, according to Planned Parenthood, is cohabitation. Unmarried women who are living with a man are more than four times likelier to abort than those who are not. In addition, blacks

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

abort three times more often than whites. Persons on welfare are 2 1/2 times likelier to get an abortion than those who are not. And women living in or around large cities are twice as likely to abort as those living in non-metropolitan areas.

Relative Likelihood of Having an Abortion
by characteristics of woman



Source: To simplify comparison, abortion rate for born-again/evangelical women is defined as 1.0. Editor's calculations from "Abortion Patients in 1994-95: Characteristics and Contraceptive Use," by Stanley Henshaw and Kathryn Kost, *Family Planning Perspectives*, July/August 1996.

THE OLD GLOBAL ECONOMY

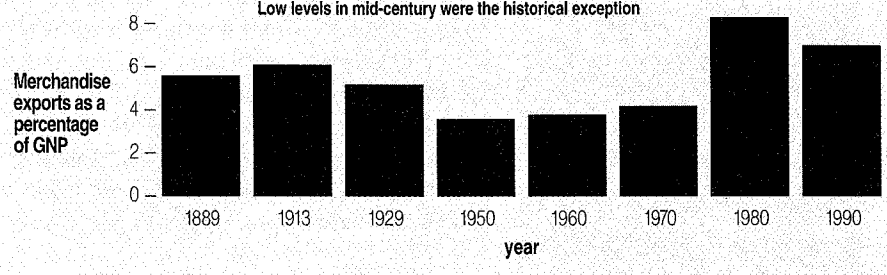
There is a widespread perception today that the United States has entered into an unprecedented level of economic integration with the rest of the world. Images of "a new global economy" are invoked constantly by critics and enthusiasts alike.

But is this perception accurate? Not particularly, says economic historian Douglas Irwin of the American Enterprise Institute and University of Chicago. He notes that international trade has flourished for centuries, and points out in an interesting recent paper that there was "substantial international mobility of goods, capital, and labor" across U.S. borders as much as 120 years ago.

In fact, as the graph below indicates, it is not today's active trading but the comparatively low level of trade one generation ago that stands out as the historical anomaly in America. "Between 1914 and 1945," Irwin explains, "the course of world economic integration was rudely set back." Government intervention was the culprit — most visibly "two wars straddling a depression punctuated by an outbreak of protectionism," but also various commercial regulations, capital controls, and migration restrictions. These interruptions "made the postwar period seem more remarkable" in terms of trade than it really has been, says Irwin. And since the 1950s the United States has been "gradually moving 'back to the future,' returning to and perhaps surpassing the degree of economic integration with the rest of the world last seen in 1913."

One reason trade is misperceived as vastly higher now than it was at the turn of the twentieth century is because it *has* become much more important to goods producers. Fully 31 percent of the goods churned by American manufacturers, miners, and farmers are now exported—up from 14 percent in 1889. But goods producers are a smaller part of the U.S. economy today, as services of all kinds have overtaken them in significance. The net result is that America's reliance on international trade is, overall, not much heavier now than it was for our great-grandparents back in 1889.

International Trade is Normal for the U.S.
Low levels in mid-century were the historical exception



Source: Douglas Irwin, "The United States in a New Global Economy?", *American Economic Review*, May 1996.

THE LIBERAL CHARACTER

We are currently in an election season where the "character" of political candidates has become a significant issue. At the moment at least, it tends to be conservatives who argue the importance of personal character traits, while the Left often discounts "character issues" as just "wedges" used by judgmental people to divide the public. (See Bill Bennett on "Does Character Count?" in our SCAN department.)

Less than a year ago, pollster Frank Luntz conducted detailed 30-minute interviews in which he questioned different groups of Americans on the subject of personal character. He found that **political liberals not only have different attitudes than most Americans toward the significance of character as a public issue, but also behave quite distinctively themselves.**

For instance, when asked "If the IRS or your bank made a $5,000 error in your favor and you knew you wouldn't be caught, would you return the money or spend it?", 31 percent of self-described liberals said they would spend it, compared to 17 percent of conservatives and 23 percent of Americans as a whole. Forty-six percent of liberals said they had stolen towels from a hotel, compared to 37 percent of conservatives and 38 percent of the population generally.

Interestingly, while the Left is quick to blame others for greediness, Luntz researchers discovered that 61 percent of liberals "aspire to be rich," well ahead of conservatives at 51 percent. And 29 percent of liberals say they have eaten or drunk so much in the past as to get sick, compared to 19 percent of all Americans.

Asked "How often do you tell a lie, even a small one," political liberals were more than half-again as likely as conservatives to say once a day at least (19 vs. 12 percent). Within the last year, fully 26 percent of liberals have phoned in sick to work when they weren't, as against 14 percent of conservatives.

Readers will not be shocked to learn that half of all liberals have had casual sex ("sex without love"), versus one-third of conservatives

The most interesting character finding of all comes last: **62 percent of self-described liberals say they "are better people morally than their neighbors."** Fifty-seven percent of conservatives say the same.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Live with TAE"

PENN STATE'S VENERABLE FOOTBALL COACH, JOE PATERNO, SPEAKS OUT ON BLACK QUARTERBACKS, POETRY, AND KIDS TODAY.

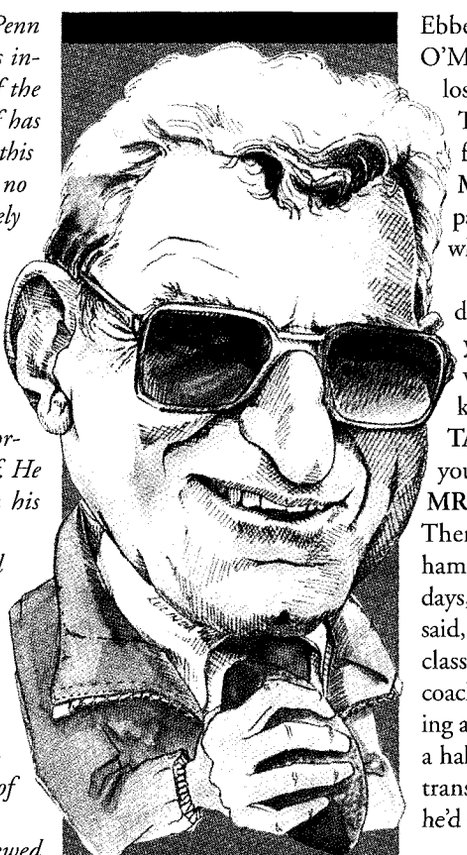
Joe Paterno

Joe Paterno, the legendary football coach of the Penn State Nittany Lions, has said that he draws his inspiration from the Aeneid, *Virgil's account of the founding of Rome. Yet Coach Paterno himself has shown no inclination to roam. Thirty years ago this fall he took the helm at Penn State: perhaps no coach in the history of college football is as closely identified with a school.*

The product of a close-knit Italian-American family, Paterno was educated by Jesuits at Brooklyn Prep. He won a scholarship to Brown University, where his tuition, and that of other football players, was paid by a comic-book publisher. Upon graduation he forsook law school for a job on the Penn State staff. He rose to head coach, and entering this season his teams have compiled a record of 278-72-3.

Paterno's teams have won two national championships (and would have won more if the sportswriters whose votes determine the champ didn't harbor such contempt for Eastern football). About 85 percent of his players earn degrees—a figure that dwarfs that of most of the football factories his teams play on autumn Saturdays—which has led his handful of detractors to dub him "Saint Joe."

Associate Editor Bill Kauffman interviewed Joe Paterno in the lion's den of State College, Pennsylvania.



I'm a little bit of a pedagogue: I like to teach. I like to have an impact on people's lives. I like to see kids change.

TAE: You were an English literature major. Indeed, you met your wife at a Leslie Fiedler lecture and courted her while reading Camus' *The Stranger* on the beach. Why do you think novelists have rhapsodized over baseball, found it full of meaning and metaphor, yet they either ignore football or they disdain it as dehumanizing and brutal?

MR. PATERNO: Robert Frost wrote a great essay on baseball. How could you spend a more beautiful day? He talked about the symmetry and the artistry, the grace of baseball.

I used to love baseball. I was an usher at Ebbetts Field back in '43 and '44. But when O'Malley moved the Dodgers out of Brooklyn, I lost interest.

TAE: Why don't poets find the beauty in football?

MR. PATERNO: They look at the physical part. They don't really appreciate the Jerry Rices, who play the game with such grace and skill.

Football is a very easy game to learn. It doesn't have the consistent beauty of action that you do in baseball, and I think that most people wouldn't want to rhapsodize about somebody knocking somebody else on their rear end.

TAE: How did Virgil enter and come to color your life?

MR. PATERNO: I went to a Jesuit high school. There was a young scholastic, Father Bermingham, who taught me in a Latin class. In those days, we had to take four years of Latin. And he said, "We're not going to get to Virgil's *Aeneid* in class." But he made a deal with my basketball coach that if I would come in early in the morning and shoot my foul shots, he could have me for a half-hour a day. He had a little cubicle and we translated Virgil together. I'd translate 10 lines, he'd translate 40. Otherwise, we'd still be doing it.

And it had such a profound impact on my life. The wonderful enthusiasm Father Bermingham had for it—like most good teachers, he was like an actor. We played the parts and I almost at times thought I was Aeneas, that I was fated to do certain things and to lead. It just stuck. The worse things got, the better Aeneas performed.

TAE: You don't make your players read the *Aeneid*, do you?

MR. PATERNO: No, no, no. They kid me about it. Some of them, I think, have read through the Cliff's Notes just to figure out what's going on. They get bored with it in a hurry. It's kind of low-key these days.

TAE: Do you find that your Catholic high-school players are, on average, more disciplined or more serious than the kids who come out of public high schools?

Illustration by Lucinda S. Levine

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MR. PATERNO: Absolutely not. It's the other way. I think that the kids who come out of Catholic high schools are more inclined to drink. The best kids we're getting today—as far as aspiring to get the most out of this institution—are the black kids who had some family, or a high-school coach, or somebody, who has taken an interest in them. In most cases, they work harder and they're more appreciative of things.

TAE: Why is Western Pennsylvania such a football hotbed?

MR. PATERNO: It's not the hotbed it used to be. You take the Johnstown area, where the Novaks [Michael, Ben, and family] are from. When I came here, there would be six or seven players that we would like to have. There might be three or four Notre Dame or Pitt or Michigan or Ohio State would want. There won't be two or three there anymore.

What happened was a lot of the little coal towns joined together as one school. Where you used to have five schools with maybe 60 kids each out for football—300 kids—now you might have one joint school with 50 kids out.

TAE: Is there a sense in which your teams embody the personality of Pennsylvania?

MR. PATERNO: Oh, golly. I never heard that one. To a degree, I think that might be true. It's kind of a blue-collar, hard-working, ethnic mentality in this state. There may be a group of people in Philadelphia that are a little bit above it, but Pittsburgh is just a bunch of small towns. It's not easy to break into society, so to speak.

TAE: I remember reading that Pennsylvania has the highest percentage of people who were born in the state who still live there.

MR. PATERNO: There's a tremendous loyalty to it.

TAE: For years, quarterbacks were almost exclusively white. Was this just due to blatant racism or were there more subtle reasons?

MR. PATERNO: I think it was a combination of racism and the fact that a lot of black kids didn't want to play quarterback because it's a self-fulfilling prophecy. They probably felt there was no future there. Wide-outs, defensive backs, running backs: the black kids seemed to do better in those positions than the white kids. So I think maybe they backed away from quarterback. But once a couple of kids started to do well as quarterbacks, then a lot of these kids wanted to play quarterback.

TAE: Your first black quarterback had problems, didn't he?

MR. PATERNO: Oh, yes. He wasn't good enough. And unfortunately, Mike [Cooper] didn't realize it. He thought it was a racist thing. It wasn't. It really wasn't. Mike had been a high-school quarterback. He came up and he had to wait his turn. In 1970, I gave him the job and he wasn't doing it. Then I gave it to a kid by the name of Parsons, and he didn't do it. So I had to take a kid who was a safety man and move him over to offense. Once he started, we won 17 in a row.

I have to chase girls away from the locker room some nights. I don't know how some of these kids handle it.

But I have not talked to Mike Cooper in 25 years—he still lives in Harrisburg—and I feel bad about that. But it had absolutely nothing to do with race.

TAE: Some positions seem almost to be race-specific. There are almost no black punters or white cornerbacks, for instance. Does race have something to do with this?

MR. PATERNO: I'm not sure. Now you've got Reggie Roby, who's one of the best punters in the NFL. He's black. The kid who kicks for Northwestern, one of the best college punters, is a black kid. You've got to be careful that you don't stereotype anybody: there are some good white corners, not a lot of them.

This year, there's a white kid who won the state 100 and 200. We were kidding the black kids about what's happened: you know, white men can't jump and that kind of thing.

TAE: You've written that special help for black students does more harm than good. How so?

MR. PATERNO: I'd have to define what I mean by special help. I think that if you don't challenge people, they're not going to reach their potential.

Having said that, my wife tutors. I'll take a kid out of high school who maybe isn't a strong enough student and I'm worried about him and my wife will tutor him. But there comes a point where he's got to start standing on his own two feet, because when he leaves here, there's nobody who's going to help him and he's got to have some confidence in himself.

There's a point where a kid doesn't have confidence. I've had kids do lousy in school because they were afraid to go to class and afraid they were going to be asked questions.

Where I get uptight is if a kid knows he doesn't have to do well in high school and he can get into college. Who's kidding who? I mean, you're not doing him any good. The same thing with us. If we push him through school and put him with profs who will feel sorry for him, then they don't get the kind of education they're going to need, and they know. You can't fool them. A kid knows whether he's getting an education. We've got to make them appreciate the fact that the more they put into it, the more they're going to get out of it, and we can't make it easy for them.

TAE: Henry James once said that no man can be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a great writer and a good father. Do you think the same thing is true of football coaches?

MR. PATERNO: Pretty close. We have a high rate of divorce among assistant coaches because of the traveling, the intensity, and the competition. But it's amazing how many guys do a good job with that. I think it's close, but it's doable.

TAE: In what ways are kids today different from kids 30 years ago when you started coaching at Penn State?

MR. PATERNO: They're better. They're not phonies. They're not hypocrites, most of them. They're pretty darn honest people, and they've had to survive a much tougher situation. All the tough decisions in my life when I was a kid, until I left high school, were made by my church or my family. I mean, I didn't have any choices whether I wanted to sleep with a girl or do anything like that, God forbid. You are going to go to hell if you do that.

I think we gave these kids an awful lot of leeway. We've put them in a tough environment where they've got to make a lot of tough decisions and they've got to work their way through it on their own, and I think they respond better.

It's easier to have a good relationship with kids today than it used to be, as long as you're honest. When you get in trouble is when you play games with them, when you try to con them and talk down to them.

The problem is not the kid, the problem is us. The kids need somebody whom they trust and somebody who's honest. They look at the political scene out there today—who wouldn't get disillusioned? For crying out loud, they've got to be sick about it. It's going to be their country. I think the fact that they haven't had a revolution speaks well for them.

TAE: In your autobiography, *By The Book*, you single out Tom Osborne of Nebraska as a coach who ran a model program, yet last year he disappointed many people when he appeared to treat with great indulgence star players who were girlfriend-beaters and thugs. What do you think of that mess?

MR. PATERNO: Let me start out by saying Tom Osborne and I have been friends for a long time. I like Tom.

Without knowing all the facts, I'm a little disappointed in the way Tom handled it. I don't want to be critical of Tom. I don't know all the circumstances. I don't want to sit here and judge, because I have had to deal with those kinds of things.

I have maybe a little different attitude because I start with a little different attitude when we recruit. But if [Lawrence] Phillips turns out to be a great person, then I think everybody will say Tom did what was right. If Phillips turns out to be a bum, then Tom was wrong.

We've got to make kids appreciate that the more they put into getting an education, the more they're going to get out of it. We can't make it easy for them.

TAE: Is it true that in 1994, you seriously considered leaving Penn State to coach at the notorious University of Miami?

MR. PATERNO: No, no, never. A friend of mine was the chairman of the board of Miami and they were looking for a head coach and he wanted to talk to one of my assistants and I told him, "I don't think the coach is interested." And he said, "Would you be interested?" I said, "I'm flattered, but let me think about it," because I didn't want to just out and out say, hey, I'm not interested in Miami. But I was not interested.

TAE: Kind of like Saint Peter defecting to keep the gates of Hell.

MR. PATERNO: Not really. There again, there's a tendency for people to overreact to Miami kids. A lot of them are good kids. Even the ones that we don't particularly like: I sure as heck am not going to crucify kids because that's the way they were brought up. I'm not that way.

TAE: In 1972, you accepted, then rejected, an offer to be coach and general manager and even part-owner of the Boston Patriots at a salary of 40 times what you were making at Penn State. Why did you change your mind?

MR. PATERNO: Because the only reason I would have taken the job was the money, and I didn't go into coaching to make money. I make a lot more money now than I ever thought I would make. In fact, I would be embarrassed if people knew how much money I make.

But my dad had never owned a house. The fact that I was going to get part of the club, that I was going to own part of an NFL football team, almost got me screwed up. It was strictly a monetary thing. After I said I would do it I went to bed. I couldn't sleep and I said, "What are you doing, for crying out loud? You know you don't want to be a pro football coach." And so I called Mr. Sullivan up and said no.

TAE: If you had taken the Patriots job, what do you think you would be doing today?

MR. PATERNO: Probably looking for a job.

TAE: Why is pro football so much less exciting than the college game?

MR. PATERNO: Well, for me, because of the people. I'm a little bit of a pedagogue: I like to teach. I like to have an impact on people's lives. I like to see kids from 18 to 19 to 20, see them change, the challenge of being part of their lives, the challenge of putting a new football team together with a lot of new faces, creating some chemistry and establishing some leadership.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TAE: The players are also representing an institution, aren't they, whereas in the pros, they are corporate employees?

MR. PATERNO: Yes. It's a business. I mean, if you think it's anything but a business, you're crazy. That's why I say the only reason I would have coached pro football is because of the money, and that's not what I'm in it for.

TAE: Do you think the fans' identification with players is sometimes a little frightening?

MR. PATERNO: It is frightening. That's why I said kids are better today—because they're so much more mature. The kind of money that's out there, the agents that are out there, the girls—I mean, I have to chase girls away from the locker room some nights.

I don't know how some of these kids handle it. We have kids who are going to be doctors and lawyers and engineers and we have some who are just getting by, but they do well with their lives, and yet we ask them to do winter programs and weightlifting and all that kind of stuff, have a decent social life, and yet still be able to keep their heads on straight and not get carried away with all of this idolatry.

TAE: Should they get some sort of stipend from the school?

MR. PATERNO: Oh, I don't think there's any question they should. People will tell you there's a Pell Grant. But if a kid is really dirt poor and something goes wrong at home, if his kid brother gets in trouble or something has happened to the family car, then mom says, "I need that Pell Grant." There's a tremendous strain on a kid.

The NCAA has a student assistance program now where you can give a kid some money to buy clothes and things like that, but they don't want to get into an out-and-out $50 a month because then you've got to do it for all sports. We have 800 athletes in 29 sports—you would bankrupt the program.

TAE: Penn State is now a member of the Big Ten, the storied Midwestern conference. Aren't you interlopers there? Doesn't Penn State belong in an Eastern league with Pitt and West Virginia and Syracuse?

MR. PATERNO: I tried to do that years ago but Pitt wanted to go with Big East basketball. If you had asked me that question seven years ago, I would have said you're absolutely right.

But there are no regional schools anymore. We're all worldwide. We've got exchange students all over the world. Walk this campus, you'll see people here from every part of the country.

We're a research-oriented institution. We're a land-grant institution. We're a public institution. And so are all the institutions we're now affiliated with, outside of Northwestern. So no, we're not interlopers. This is home for us.

The women are always griping about football gets this and basketball gets that, but without the quality of football we have, we wouldn't get television money and we wouldn't have the resources to build women's tennis courts and have scholarships for women golfers.

TAE: Has television changed college football for the better or for the worse?

MR. PATERNO: A little bit of both. For the worse in that it's made it very commercial. We've had to adjust so much to television, changing kickoff times and things like that. It has a great deal of influence on the rules we make.

On the other hand, college football has never been more popular than it is now. Attendance is way up. Without the money generated by television through college football, we would not be able to afford all the programs we have.

The women are always griping about football gets this and basketball gets that, but without the quality of football we have, we wouldn't get television money and we wouldn't have the resources to build women's tennis courts and have scholarships for women golfers. We wouldn't have been able to start women's soccer.

TAE: Has Title IX helped women's sports or hurt men's sports?

MR. PATERNO: There again, a little bit of both. Here, it has helped women's sports. We've always been committed to women's sports. When I came here in 1950, women had their own swimming pool on the campus. The men had to rent a pool downtown.

We saw Title IX as a challenge to go out and do more for our women, not take away from men. We've talked to women alumni. We've figured out different ways to increase our revenues so that we could create a better situation for women: better equipment, better coaching, better facilities, more scholarships. So it's been a plus.

Then there are some who are caught in between, like my alma mater, Brown. They tried to get a little bit more fiscal responsibility. They tried to cut a couple of men's sports and a couple of women's sports, but the judge wouldn't let them. He'd let them cut out the men but they couldn't cut out the women.

TAE: You grew up an opera lover. Have you been able to transmit that love to your teams?

MR. PATERNO: No, I wouldn't even try.

TAE: So you don't pipe Verdi in over rap music in the locker room?

MR. PATERNO: That's all I'd have to do. You go into that weight room and listen to that stuff: it'll drive you nuts. I can't stand it. But they like it, and it's their locker room.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE

TIPPING-POINT ELECTION

WILL FUTURE AMERICANS LOOK BACK AT THE 1996 VOTE AND SAY "BINGO"?

With national TV and a live audience looking on, a spirited and authoritative group of political experts and culture-watchers debated how the November races will reshape America's future.

MICHAEL BARONE	★	*U.S. News & World Report*
GARY BAUER	★	Family Research Council
KARLYN H. BOWMAN	★	*The American Enterprise*
ROBERT P. CASEY	★	Democratic Governor of Pennsylvania, 1987-1995
LYNNE CHENEY	★	American Enterprise Institute
MICHAEL FARRIS	★	Candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1993
CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS	★	*The Nation* and *Vanity Fair*
IRVING KRISTOL	★	American Enterprise Institute
FRANK LUNTZ	★	Pollster for the Contract with America
GROVER NORQUIST	★	Americans for Tax Reform

ROUNDTABLE ON THE NEXT PRESIDENT

MR. BARONE: We use the phrase in political journalism, "The president runs the country." It strikes me that nobody runs this country and that the president often doesn't even run the government. He will tell you on occasion that he's not running the White House staff.

How much does the president matter?

MR. BAUER: Some of my Republican friends, as they look at the polls, increasingly say the presidency doesn't matter, and I suspect if the congressional match-ups begin to look bad for conservatives they'll say the Congress doesn't matter, either.

But of course the presidency *does* matter, if for no other reason than because it is the bully pulpit of the United States. The man or woman in that office can do a great deal to get Americans thinking about liberty and virtue by focusing the nation's attention, through speeches and symbolic events. This Congress has certainly learned over the last two years that a President matters just in the mundane act of either stopping or allowing important legislation to get through.

MR. CASEY: Having been a governor, I can tell you that the chief executive does matter: He sets the agenda.

MS. CHENEY: We have a country now where if you're Dick Morris, you can indulge in the most bizarre and morally culpable behavior and conclude a $2 million book contract within a week. I worry about the kind of behavior that will be ratified with the election of Bill Clinton. We'll be electing a President who has gone on MTV and said to kids that drugs don't matter. Asked if he would inhale if he had it to do again, he said, "Sure, I would." This can't be good for the country.

MR. KRISTOL: If he gets elected, the thing I worry about most is his Supreme Court appointments. I don't think Bill Clinton has an agenda except to get reelected. The Democratic Party doesn't have an agenda,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and there are budgetary constraints on anything they could possibly do. The Republican Party is not going to go away.

MR. BARONE: Let me play devil's advocate and argue that ideas are in the saddle. After all, if you had told members of the 1992 Democratic National Convention that President Clinton was going to sign a bill terminating the federal right to welfare and that he was going to sign budget bills that were going to reduce in absolute dollars the amount spent on domestic discretionary programs, they would have said you were full of beans. The Republican Congress lost the battle of the sound bites but they won the policy argument to a significant extent.

MS. CHENEY: But in a second term Clinton will rewrite the welfare bill, as the delegates at the Democratic convention were promised.

MR. CASEY: There was a memorandum in mid-1995 from Stanley Greenberg to the President saying, if you want to get reelected you've got to become—are you ready for this?—a "cultural conservative." That advice cost about $5 million. I tried to tell him that for nothing in 1992 and he wouldn't listen. But since that time, Clinton has moved hard right on every issue except abortion. He's gone hard left on abortion.

Irving Kristol is absolutely right: The Democrats have a real identity crisis. Bill Clinton is as far away from Barney Frank and Pat Schroeder as Bob Dole is from Jack Kemp, but the press never talks about the Democratic debate. The Democrats may be able to squeeze one more election out of a reactive strategy as protectors of the elderly poor under Medicare—and I agree with that philosophically. But beyond that, the disintegration is going to continue. I see a whole new force emerging; if not a third party, certainly a third force. We could have a new configuration made up of middle-class voters, working-class families whose income is deteriorating, and churchgoers. Put them all together and you get 51 percent real fast. Change is coming in both parties.

MR. BAUER: I can't help but note the irony that as Bill Clinton was getting that advice to become a cultural conservative, elements of the Republican Party were absolutely convinced that the Republican Party's problem was that it appeared to be too culturally conservative.

Having been in San Diego, I must say I wondered whether the Republican Party had an agenda of any consequence. You had to tune in very carefully to find the three or four things they were willing to talk about. After four or five days of cult-like chanting of phrases like "big tent" and "inclusiveness," we got a bounce that lasted all of 48 hours—like Chinese food, gone before you knew it. The controversial Houston convention four years ago gave George Bush a 15-point bounce that lasted until the Presidential debates, when he actually had to defend a number of ideas and didn't do it very well.

MR. CASEY: Look at what happened to the big-tent advocates in the Republican primaries. Why did Pete Wilson and Arlen Specter finish behind "none of the above"? I think the big tent is really a pup tent. There are only two people in it, Pete Wilson and Arlen Specter.

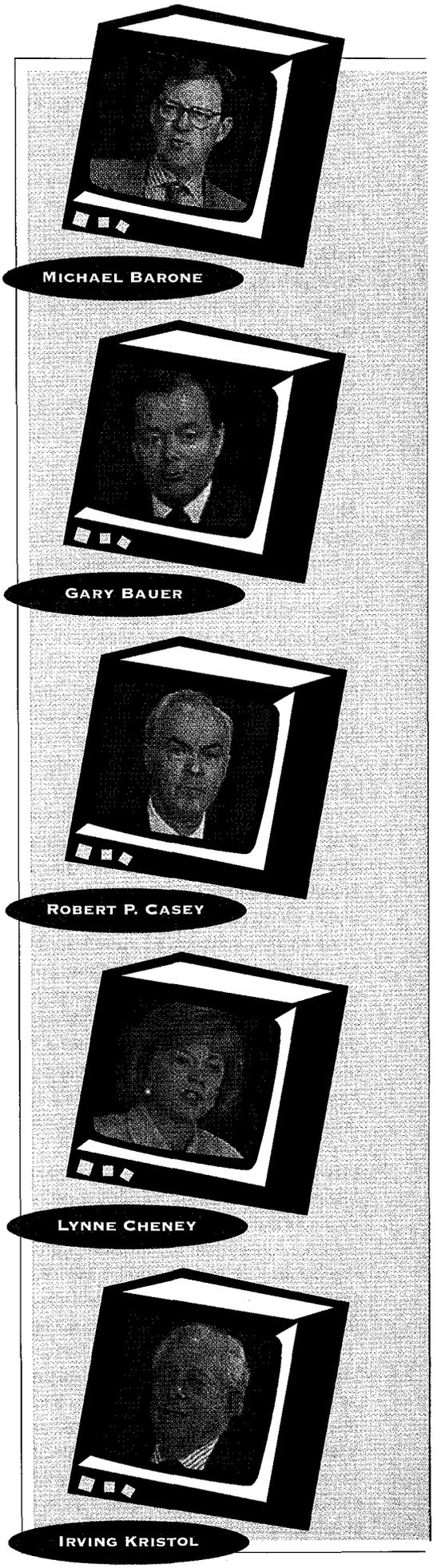
MS. CHENEY: It is common political practice to run right in the primaries if you're a Republican, to run left in the primaries if you're a Democrat, and move to the center for the general elections. And that's what happened at both conventions.

MR. KRISTOL: I don't think Mr. Clinton is in any sense a cultural conservative. He'll be anything he has to be to get elected. But if elected, he will try to move left, where his party is.

The Democratic Party is unified in a way that the Republican Party is not. The welfare state is the crucial institution for the Democratic Party, not the market or the economy. The welfare state is where those people at the convention get their jobs.

The Republicans are split between economic conservatives and cultural conservatives, but they shouldn't be. They should understand, as Democrats do, that the welfare state is both a cultural and economic issue. Some Republicans forget that you don't cut the budget just to balance it, but also to stop the growth of that parasitic presence on the American economy and society which influences our educational system, our religious systems, everything.

The Republican Party is going to have to meld these two forces, but I'm unclear how. It will require a completely new leadership.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MR. BARONE: What would a Dole administration be like? Would he follow through on his economic promises? Would he make abortion, in Bill Clinton's words, "safe, legal, and rare"—although it's never safe for the child, is it?

MR. BAUER: Dole's problem is that people can't answer that question. A voter in 1980 knew that Ronald Reagan was going to try to make government smaller, lower taxes, and rebuild our defenses. The polls indicate that even on the tax issue, which has been the centerpiece of the campaign so far, there is great skepticism about whether Dole means it.

MS. CHENEY: Bob Dole is known as a man of his word. That was his entire reputation in the United States Senate.

MR. BAUER: Nobody is going to want Bob Dole and Jack Kemp in office more than you and I, but we're skirting around the issue. Why is it that the Clinton Presidency, with all its warts, enjoys anywhere from an 11- to 20-point lead?

MS. CHENEY: Part of it's the media.

MR. BAUER: Falling back on media distortion is what losers in campaigns do. Ronald Reagan had a very bad media. The Republican message during those years was profound and clear and concise enough that the American people could grasp it. I think we're fooling ourselves if we think the only reason there's a 15-point gap is because of editorials in the *Washington Post* and because Dan Rather looks cross when he mentions Bob Dole's name.

MS. CHENEY: It's much more than that. The media, for example, implies smoking cigarettes is worse than doing drugs. Give me a break. I am waiting for Bill Clinton to go on the "Today" show and be worked over on the issue of drugs as Bob Dole was worked over on the issue of tobacco.

MR. KRISTOL: It's a mistake to focus on drugs, as the Republicans have been doing, because the American people are very skeptical as to what the government can do about drugs, and I think properly skeptical. The problem of drugs is not a problem of what the President wants or what Congress wants. It is a cultural problem, just as illegitimacy is a cultural problem, and it's not so easy for the government to intervene.

BAUER: WHILE BILL CLINTON WAS REPACKAGING HIMSELF AS A CULTURAL CONSERVATIVE, ELEMENTS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WERE ABSOLUTELY CONVINCED THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S PROBLEM WAS THAT IT APPEARED TO BE CULTURALLY CONSERVATIVE.

What Dole could do, which would outweigh everything else he could do in domestic policy, is appoint a couple of new Supreme Court Justices, because the Supreme Court has been a major villain in the culture wars, actually creating problems like school prayer and abortion. If he did that, I really wouldn't care whether we got a tax cut.

MR. BAUER: The Dole campaign played around with making court appointments a major issue. Bill Clinton has put a lot of fairly radical judges on the courts. Judges who are wrong about how much authority Washington ought to have also tend to be wrong on all the cultural and social issues, and so it's the easy way to bring together the two wings of the Republican Party and remind them that their interests do coincide.

MR. BARONE: What would a second Clinton administration look like? I've talked to numerous Democratic politicians, in the administration and Congress, and the response is always, "I don't know."

MS. CHENEY: It's certainly a mystery, since we don't know what the first one was like. The first two years were entirely different from the second two years.

MR. BARONE: The Hillary Rodham Clinton years and the Dick Morris years.

MS. CHENEY: Governor Casey said one word that troubled me. He said, President Clinton has gone right. No, he talks right, or he talks centrist, but where he goes is just a complete and total mystery.

MR. BARONE: But he did sign the welfare bill.

MS. CHENEY: The President said to Dick Morris that he's worrying about his role in history.

MR. BARONE: At one point, he regretted he didn't have a big crisis like World War II to deal with. I think the rest of us are probably thankful that we don't have World War II to deal with.

MS. CHENEY: How would he become an historical President?

MR. KRISTOL: Do something unprecedented, like divorcing his wife.

MR. BARONE: Does anybody think Clinton will be a "Nixon goes to China" President on domestic issues?

MR. CASEY: I don't see it, but who knows? The reason he signed the welfare bill is because the polling data said, "sign the welfare bill." It's very simple. Tobacco must poll very high.

MR. BAUER: The chances of the Clinton presidency being historic are probably in the hands of the special Whitewater prosecutor in Little Rock, and I'm not sure that's the history that the President had in mind.

MR. BARONE: So this is not "Nixon goes to China," it's "Nixon goes to jail"?

MR. BAUER: Clinton is teaching the Democratic Party how to operate in a culturally conservative America. I assume that a second Clinton term would be liberal, but I don't believe the Republican Party will have the luxury anymore of having its opponents call themselves liberals. They'll pursue a liberal agenda while cloaking it with culturally conservative rhetoric, and so far, we haven't figured out a way to deal with that.

MR. BARONE: The welfare bill or the interracial adoption bill that Clinton endorsed and signed: Is that just tactics, or is there conviction behind that?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MR. BAUER: The hardest thing in Washington is to know the heart of a man in public life, but Clinton twice vetoed those same adoption reforms. I believe the signing of the welfare bill had to do with where the calendar was and what the nightly polling data showed.

MR. CASEY: Tactically, his embrace of adoption is a reactive strategy to appeal to the constituency who are horrified by partial-birth abortion. We're talking about the Reagan Democrats, the ethnic Democrats, the Catholic Democrats. They live in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois.

MR. KRISTOL: So much depends on advertising. Will they even mention partial-birth abortion? There will be a lot of people in the Republican leadership who say, "Talk only about taxes. Forget about that issue."

MR. CASEY: That's bad advice.

MR. KRISTOL: It's terrible advice. If they just talk about taxes, the party remains unhealed.

MR. CASEY: If we learned one thing in the primaries—Steve Forbes learned it in Iowa—there's got to be a two-track message. The people of this country are more concerned about the moral deficit than the fiscal deficit. If a candidate talks about the economic issues, that will get him part of the way home, but he had better address the cultural unease of America. Why don't we value life? Why do we have a Declaration of Independence that guarantees the right to life and yet we give the unborn child less protection than any other country in the world?

MR. BAUER: Governor Casey, if Bob Dole would say what you just said in an upcoming Presidential debate, we would be having another forum here before election day about why this race had suddenly tightened.

MS. CHENEY: Dole did say in his acceptance speech, "Those people who told you four years ago that 'It's the economy, stupid,' were condescending to you. It is not the economy that is our principal concern as a nation. It is our moral fiber."

MR. BAUER: But Lynne, it's got to be specific. That would be the equivalent of talking about property in the 1850s without ever mentioning slaves and whether they're property or not.

NORQUIST:
IF RICHARD NIXON WERE A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE TODAY, HE'D BE THE MOST LEFT-WING MEMBER OF THE REPUBLICAN CAUCUS. JIM LEACH WOULDN'T TALK TO HIM.

MR. KRISTOL: I want to pick up on the phrase that the governor used, about the Republican Party running on two tracks. One track is better. The Democratic Party is on one track. The Republican Party should be the party opposed to high taxes, opposed to high rates of illegitimacy. Why do you need two tracks to send out that message?

MR. CASEY: I could not disagree with you more. If you don't think Bill Clinton is running on an economic and a cultural message, you're not listening to what he's saying. He weaves these family-related issues in with economic concerns, like tuition tax credits and adoption credits. He understands better than anybody in the country what I'm talking about.

MR. BARONE: They're both trying to weave this together. Dole says, "Look, if you have my tax-cut money, it'll be easier for mom to be home when the kids get home from school."

MR. KRISTOL: When Clinton talks about the family, what does he have in mind? Not your family, not my family. *Any* kind of family. Families with two members, four members, same sex, different sex—he doesn't care.

MR. BARONE: In trying to weave economic and moral issues together, Dole and Clinton are responding to an unease that includes liberals and conservatives. You often hear, "Our children are not going to be as well off as we are." I think there's also a fear that we are not raising our children as well as our parents raised us, that we are perhaps indulging in things for ourselves, not doing enough for the children. Clinton and Dole are suggesting that they could use government or tax cuts as a way to enable people to raise their children better. Is that just nibbling at the margins?

MS. CHENEY: Moral leadership from the top is very important. Fish rot from the head down. This notion that we can do drugs and it won't hurt—"Just do it," as the Nike ad says—is a very dismaying one, and when it comes from the father figure of the country, it's damaging.

MR. KRISTOL: When Morris resigned, the President called him to affirm his friendship. Mrs. Clinton then called to affirm her friendship. I thought, why is Mrs. Clinton calling this guy, who spent a year deceiving his wife with a prostitute? Maybe he knows things he shouldn't know. Or maybe she thought, he needs therapy and we'll have a program, spending a lot of money, to make sure that people like that don't go to a prostitute. That's the way the people at the Democratic convention would think. They would not for a moment approach it from a moral point of view.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: I expected to hear the good, the bad, and the ugly about both candidates. The references to the President are all negative. Is there anything good to be said?

MS. CHENEY: Bill Clinton is an astonishing politician. He can work a crowd better than anybody I've ever seen.

MR. KRISTOL: He also has the advantage of being a very lucky President. He's got a good economy going, for which he's entitled to claim credit as President, though in fact he has nothing to do with the strength of the economy. He has no foreign policy crises that anyone is paying attention to. This Saddam thing might even give him a little blip. Every President wants a Saddam crisis. Don't send any American troops in to get shot

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at. All you do is fire missiles. What a wonderful war.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Why is it that a male politician can dump his first wife, upgrade to a more politically attractive, newer model, and the cultural conservatives don't make that an issue?

MR. BARONE: Of the last four Republican presidential nominees, two were divorced and one was married to a divorced woman. What do you have to say to that, Gary Bauer?

MR. BAUER: Divorce is a major issue. The problem is that human beings are conducting the debate, many of whom have suffered or committed some of the problems that we're trying to deal with, and it becomes very uncomfortable for people in public life to give voice to these issues if their own life doesn't hold up under scrutiny. So what they often do in Washington is just fall silent about it.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Isn't the divorce a blot on Dole's character?

MR. BAUER: I want to avoid critiquing individual episodes in someone's life and focus on policy. What I want Bob Dole to do is to push for divorce-law reform. People can make their own judgments about how he handled his first marriage.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: What about the differences between the two candidates on foreign policy?

MR. BARONE: If you go to Republican rallies, anytime they want a big cheer, they will denounce Boutros Boutros-Ghali and American soldiers serving under the United Nations' flag. President Clinton did not speak out in favor of having United States troops placed under the U.N. flag. In fact, the Democratic position is that this doesn't happen and we're not for it.

MR. BAUER: I don't know whether it's correct to label it isolationism, but there is a growing distaste for foreign aid and the United Nations. I'm not sure the establishment of either party is doing very much to address that. The only candidate who said much about it was Pat Buchanan, who often said it in ways that made it hard for people to agree with him.

FARRIS: ARKANSAS GOVERNOR MIKE HUCKABEE, WHO HAS KNOWN HIM FROM HIS YOUTH, INSISTS CLINTON ISN'T INTERESTED IN POLITICS. HE JUST WANTED TO BE FAMOUS. HE WOULD HAVE BEEN EQUALLY HAPPY TO HAVE BEEN ELVIS.

MR. KRISTOL: I don't think the mood can be fairly described as isolationist. I think nationalist would be more accurate. Mr. Clinton in his second term is likely to give us a replay of Mr. Carter. His inclination seems to be to rely on diplomacy and as little as possible on truly forceful intervention. Dole, of course, does have a military background. He fought in a war. He knows that war is terrible, but he also knows sometimes it's the only way of accomplishing your mission.

Things could easily happen, particularly in the Far East or in the Middle East, where the presence of a strong President who believes in America intervening to preserve world order and a weaker President who relies solely on diplomatic tools could make a major difference.

MR. CASEY: In fairness, the President's action in Bosnia was quite courageous. He brokered that truce, and so far, it's held up.

MR. BARONE: With that endorsement of the Clinton record, we'll end this discussion.

ROUNDTABLE ON THE NEXT CONGRESS

MS. BOWMAN: Observers have suggested that this fall's congressional elections will be among the most important in the country's history. Is that just election-year hyperbole or is there more at stake than usual?

MR. NORQUIST: For the House there is. If the Republicans maintain control, you're looking at a situation where the Republicans could keep that majority for 20 or 30 years. I think the Republicans will pick up seats this year, even if Clinton runs strong, and also in 1998, because there are a whole series of Democrats in marginal or Republican seats who are waiting to see if the Democrats are coming back into power before making a retirement decision.

MR. HITCHENS: I'm in the weird position of wanting to recommend a piece in *Commentary* by Daniel Casse (July 1996) called "Party of One." It's a study of Clinton's relationship to this Congress and the next one. What he says, and what I have every reason to think is true from conversations with members of the Clinton entourage, is that the truly emancipating moment for the Clinton Presidency came when the Democrats were destroyed in the House. That allowed him to be unbearably light, to rise clear of his party. Casse says Clinton "has learned how the Republicans can be at once a steady source of new ideas and a perfect foil." In general, he will do well when his party does least well. The counterpart probably holds true, too.

Pretend, for the moment, to be Newt Gingrich. Who do you want to be President? Obviously, you don't want a mediocre, moderate Republican. What you want is Bill Clinton. Which pleases me because it makes nonsense of the current formulaic style of bipartisanship. The difficulty in starting a third party in this country is that there are not yet two parties. This will probably be the first bipartisan election of the new style, and it will emancipate us from the idiotic donkey-elephant discourse that's dominated everything from Herblock cartoons to "Crossfire" for so long. I personally can't wait.

MR. LUNTZ: 1992 was really the first election where Republicans and Democrats didn't matter so much. We did instant response work for ABC News where we tested speech after speech at the Republican and Democratic conventions, and one of the things we found is that if you just mention the word *Republican,* approval goes down. Mention the word *Democrat,* approval goes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

down. You have to be 60 years of age or older, or a member of Grover's family, to be really partisan at this point. Clinton's done a great job blurring the distinction between Republican and Democrat.

The key vote in 1996 is that Perot vote. If Republicans are successful in 1996, as they were in 1994, in demonstrating that they have something to appeal to people who aren't partisan at all—in fact, they're anti-partisan—but want their budgets balanced, their taxes reduced, and welfare reformed, there's no doubt they'll keep the majority.

MS. BOWMAN: Mike, from your perch in Virginia, do you think party labels mean a lot less than in the past?

MR. FARRIS: Definitely. When I ran for lieutenant governor three years ago, I carried heavily Democratic areas; the Ninth District of Virginia, for example, is dominated by the United Mine Workers. The people there believed in three things—God, guns, and unions—and I was right on two out of three. So you can see a chance for a basic realignment if the Republicans will realize that this is coalition politics and we have to stay true to each other.

I was on Jesse Jackson's show going opposite the United Mine Workers' president, and he started talking about the Equal Rights Amendment. Now what in the world does the Equal Rights Amendment have to do with the United Mine Workers? If you ask the average mine worker, he'll say "nothing." But the president of the UMW was smart enough to realize the ERA supporters are part of the Democratic coalition and he was going to be loyal. Some Republicans aren't smart enough to realize that.

We've got to be pro-life. We've got to be pro-gun. We've got to be pro-free enterprise. We've got to be against the United Nations taking over our troops. But when the fiscally conservative, socially liberal Republicans think that we have to move to the left, it is a move in the direction of defeat. I agree with Christopher about the need to have two parties in this country, and I think the freshmen in the Republican Party are the light of the future.

MS. BOWMAN: If party leaders are downplaying party labels, will candidates do the same thing this fall?

MR. NORQUIST: I don't know that people are running on party labels so much as they're running on the Contract with America, with the name taken out and deconstructed to the ten broad-brush issues that the entire Republican coalition did and could agree on. They passed all of them in the House.

MR. LUNTZ: Yet they made a strategic error: They passed health-care reform and welfare reform and relief for small business, all at the same time, and no one heard anything. Bill Clinton picks an issue, like school uniforms, and stays on it for two weeks, then jumps on the tobacco issue and stays on it for two weeks. The Republicans go from issue to issue, and then wonder why no one knows what they've done.

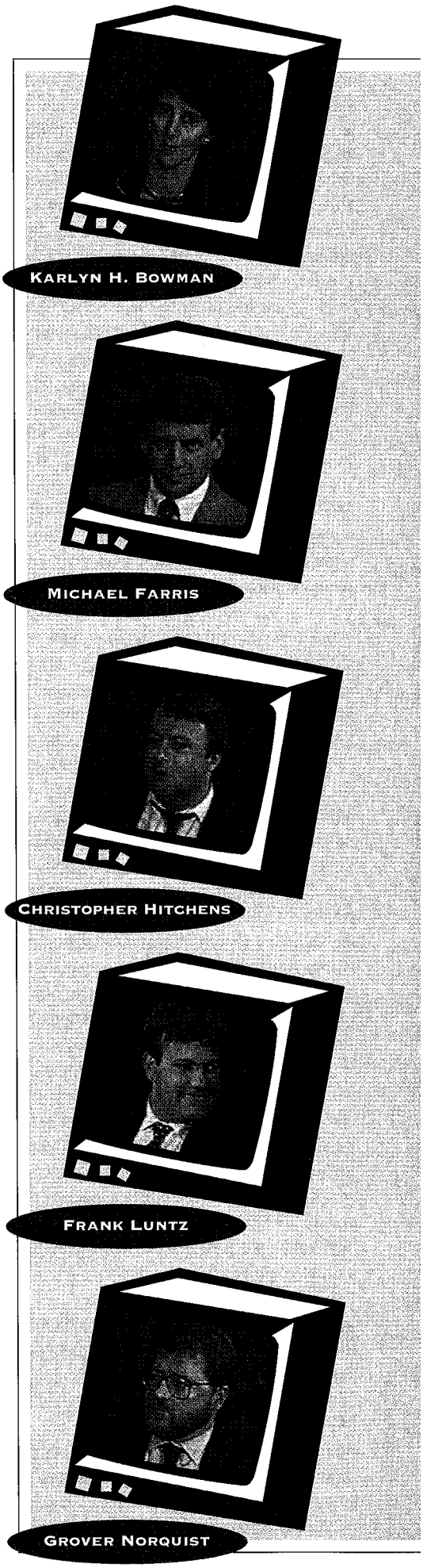
MS. BOWMAN: Christopher, does the Republicans' current slump come from the packaging, or what someone called the radical nature of the reforms?

MR. HITCHENS: It's probably to do with credibility. People may say, "I agree with what you say, but I don't think you believe it yourself." The Republican Party has to suffer from that because there is self-evidently an absolute want of conviction in its leadership.

I invented a heartless game in San Diego, which was to stop delegates at random in elevators and men's rooms—hoping not to have my intentions misunderstood—and say, "If Jack Kemp were the nominee"—and the delegate's smile would stay pasted on at this point, because Kemp was an upbeat name—"do you think he would pick Bob Dole as his running mate?" The smile disappeared. I didn't get anyone to say yes.

I also think we haven't properly estimated the impact of the oncoming millennium. It's almost un-American to pick for the millennium someone who is older now than Ronald Reagan was when he first ran. I've read that the older people are, the more suspicious they are of people of their own vintage. They know how crumbly the situation can get.

MR. LUNTZ: Bob Dole made his biggest gains in the post-convention bounce among the 18- to 34-year-olds and the next most among 35- to 49-year-olds.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MR. NORQUIST: People who became 21 years of age between 1930 and 1950—a period of Democratic dominance, when big government and big unions and big business fought big wars and did big things—thought of themselves much more in terms of large institutions. They are now 66 to 86 years old, and so that's a more Democratic age group.

They are less likely to share Kemp's way of looking at a dynamic economy, where there are now more self-employed businessmen and women in this country than there are labor-union members. That's not what somebody who came of age in 1935 thought the world would look like.

MR. FARRIS: The older Republicans who have been around here for a long time are relatively devoid of conviction compared to the younger people in the party. The new crop absolutely believe what they say, and the difference between their beliefs and the Democrats' is stark.

MS. BOWMAN: If party labels are a lot less important, what cleavages are going to be important? Gender? Age? Class?

MR. LUNTZ: You've got a generation out there that is far more likely to believe in the existence of UFOs than to believe that Social Security will exist when they retire. The Generation X-ers have grown up believing that government just doesn't work, that it's a hindrance, not a help, and that is very different from the older baby boomers and the FDR generation. So you will see more divisions by age.

And you will also see a gender gap, which is far greater among younger voters. The unmarried professional woman has nothing in common politically with the unmarried professional man. They are at opposite ends of the political spectrum, and it takes until they get together and have that first child before you start to see a unity of political ideas.

MS. BOWMAN: Pat Buchanan talked a lot about class differences in his campaign. Do you see class cleavages?

MR. LUNTZ: No.

MR. HITCHENS: You know the old story about the Rhodes scholar, the American, who meets his Oxford professor years later at a conference and the professor says, "Nice to see you again. What have you been doing?" And the American says, "I've been doing a thesis on the survival of the class system in the United States." And the Oxford professor says, "Oh, frightfully interesting. I didn't think they had a class system in the United States." The guy says, "Well, no, nobody does. That's how it survives."

BOWMAN: IF CLINTON IS PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS REPUBLICAN, WILL THEY FIX MEDICARE?

LUNTZ: YES. EVEN BILL CLINTON'S GOT AT LEAST THAT MUCH INTEGRITY.

NORQUIST: I THINK HE WOULD ALLOW A TRAIN WRECK, ALL THE TIME ARGUING THAT SOMEBODY ELSE WAS RESPONSIBLE.

I'm amazed that you can offer a member of the House or the Senate a common-law bribe. It's increasingly a profession attracting either those who have money or those who want to speak the language—very easy to learn—of those who have got it. I think there will and should be a populist revolt against that. I hope it will not be led by fascists.

MR. FARRIS: Within the Republican Party, there's a definite class system, and there is a distrust of people who come to the party for the purpose of advancing social conservatism. The John Warners simply have got to understand that people who don't own polo ponies have the right to be leaders in the Republican Party.

MR. NORQUIST: I think the Republican Party today is much more unified and ideologically coherent than it was 20 years ago. When you go back to the time of Richard Nixon in 1968-72, there were Republican governors who viewed their role as to spend more money and raise taxes. Not just Rockefeller Republicans—Richard Nixon himself introduced all sorts of new taxes, regulations, wage and price controls, detente. If Richard Nixon came back to life today and were a member of the House of Representatives as a Republican, he'd be the most left-wing member of the Republican Caucus. Jim Leach wouldn't talk to him.

We got a majority of the Republicans in the House to be Reagan Republicans by 1984. It took until 1994 to have a Reagan majority among Senate Republicans. This next election, the big gain will be among Reagan Republicans, because the people who are retiring are the old Nixon Republicans. But look at the Republican Party. Where you have a debate is on abortion, but when a left-wing Republican wants to cut the budget, deregulate, sell off everything, privatize, and is pro-choice on abortion, that's not a party that's falling apart. Growing parties will always have some divisions.

MR. FARRIS: A lot of us have as secondary or tertiary points of our philosophy the issues you outlined. But I wouldn't go to war over any of those things. I want to get rid of the National Endowment for the Arts. I want to see the U.S. Department of Education eliminated. I want to see some advancement on the pro-life cause. But the Contract with America is devoid of anything meaningful that will get the social conservatives activated, and they're starting to look at things like the U.S. Taxpayers Party, at Howard Phillips and others. We've got a real rebellion on our hands.

MR. HITCHENS: Michael, how do you come out on NAFTA, GATT, and the World Trade Organization?

MR. FARRIS: I'm against all of them. I'm also Michael New's lawyer, the soldier who refuses to fight for the United Nations.

MR. HITCHENS: As I understand the Gingrichian view, it's a free-market and free-trade one, and that seems to me an interesting and important split between the Gingrichian and the Buchananite views, though on social views there's not much discrepancy.

MR. LUNTZ: 1994 happened because the Perot-style Republican voted for the same candidate as the Christian Coalition-style Republican, who voted for the same candidate as the moderate establish-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment Republican. I'm afraid that even though you talk unity, you're seeking to pull this coalition apart. There has to be room in the Republican Party for Ralph Reed *and* John Warner. The Democrats won in the '50s and the '60s because the segregationists and the integrationists voted for the same candidates, because on other issues they agreed. Are you backing John Warner now?

MR. FARRIS: I am. Because I took an oath as a Republican activist to support my party. My complaint is we don't deliver on our promises to the social conservatives. They make speeches about the National Endowment for the Arts. They don't deliver. They make speeches on the Department of Education. They don't deliver. They make speeches about party unity, and when a social conservative wins the nomination, they trounce him.

MR. HITCHENS: I think you're wrong in saying that your first duty is to support your own party. We wouldn't have Bill Clinton as President if it weren't for Democrats for Nixon in 1972, which, incidentally, was a group mainly out of the Texas Democratic Party (for which Clinton was then working), who, having defeated McGovern, became the Democratic Leadership Council, which gave rise to the lesser evilism that we all enjoy today.

MS. BOWMAN: Irving Kristol said Clinton would move sharply left if re-elected. Do you agree?

MR. HITCHENS: At least since that experience in Texas in 1972, Mr. Clinton has been self-consciously moving himself, and hoping to move the country, to the right and has done so in ways that no Republican leader could have hoped to do. Murray Kempton and I were having a conversation in San Diego. He said, "You know, the Democratic Party used to be a bunch of pretty tough-minded white Southerners who were appealing to the loyalties and the emotions of Catholics and Jews and who knew how to keep the blacks more or less in their place."

"They've lost all that completely," said Murray, with a slight note of regret in his voice, "but look how the Republicans are masterfully reproducing the idea of a party run by tough-minded white Southerners that successfully appeals to the aspirations and emotions of at least native-born Catholics." They fall down on immigrant ones a bit. Whereas at the Democratic convention, if it weren't for the welfare-type delegates and the moral energies—as they see it—of the pro-choice forces, it would be very hard to think of what really got them going.

HITCHENS: THE DIFFICULTY IN STARTING A THIRD PARTY IN THIS COUNTRY IS THAT THERE ARE NOT YET TWO PARTIES.

FARRIS: I AGREE ABOUT THE NEED TO HAVE TWO PARTIES, AND I THINK THE FRESHMEN IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ARE THE LIGHT OF THE FUTURE.

MS. BOWMAN: Do you see significant Democratic schisms: the Gore versus Gephardt wings, for example?

MR. NORQUIST: I don't think it's in terms of their core constituency that they've got a disagreement. You've got the big-city machines. Trial lawyers. Labor unions. Government workers. Both wings of the dependency movement: the people who are locked into welfare and the people who make $80,000 a year making sure everybody stays locked into dependency and doesn't escape and become a Republican.

The problem they have is if the Republicans are able to say, "no more money," then everybody in that group who makes a living off the taxpayer starts to look at everybody else as lunch. That's why the Democrats were willing to throw welfare over the side: They were defending all of the other spending interests.

In the last two years, Clinton's model has been Richard Nixon in the early '70s. Nixon moved to the left and absorbed much of the Democratic Party's agenda, undermining the Republicans, and a second Clinton term would look a lot like a second Nixon term, largely because he has the same problems Nixon had in terms of what subpoenas and indictments can do to everybody standing near you.

MS. BOWMAN: And a second Clinton term with a Democratic Congress—what would that look like?

MR. NORQUIST: Then he'd lurch to the left, because the party has lost its moderate and conservative wings. There isn't a single conservative House Democrat.

MR. LUNTZ: Can you imagine what would happen if Clinton got elected with a Democratic House and Democratic Senate? The people who would stand up and claim the greatest victory would be the very people who have the least power right now: organized labor. They really have dug deep into their treasuries: This is betting on 36 red in roulette. Unlike the Democratic Party, who just say they're going to target 50 people and then don't do the media buy, when someone from the AFL-CIO says that they've targeted one of my clients, I know there'll be hundreds of thousands of dollars of ads. If they take the majority, labor will, with some legitimacy, be able to say, "We delivered it to you. You owe us."

MS. BOWMAN: What do you think their agenda would be?

MR. LUNTZ: First, to undo everything that's been done over the last two years. Probably to arrest and court-martial Newt Gingrich.

MS. BOWMAN: If Clinton is president and the Congress Republican, will they fix Medicare?

MR. LUNTZ: Yes. Even Bill Clinton's got at least that much integrity.

MR. NORQUIST: I don't think he has that much integrity, and I do think he would allow a train wreck, all the time arguing that somebody else was responsible.

MR. FARRIS: I'm a friend of Mike Huckabee, the governor of Arkansas. Mike has known Clinton from his youth and insists he really isn't interested in politics. He just

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wanted to be famous. He would have been equally happy to have been Elvis.

MR. HITCHENS: I was at Oxford with the President. I can tell you about the inhaling thing. It was because the President's allergic to smoke, but fortunately, marijuana could be baked into cookies, for which he's always had a pronounced fondness. The technical truth of that lawyerly lie has never ceased to fascinate me.

His image of the millennium is of an America that's practically ideologically neutral, where politics is only management. There is no chance at all that he'll move to the left, and I may say, there's no chance whatever he'll be pushed there by the AFL-CIO. They can spend all the money they like on him and he can still tell them at will, as he has in the past, where else are you thinking of going if I tell you to get lost?

AUDIENCE QUESTION: How many freshman Republicans will lose their seats?

MR. LUNTZ: My guess would be that about half-a-dozen of those seats that were won in 1994 were won because of the wave and may be given back. But most freshmen will win because this class has worked harder than any in modern congressional history. It's not been good on their family life. A few families have come apart. But they are prepared to do what it takes to get to know their constituents.

MS. BOWMAN: Let's talk about the potency of issues: term limits, gay marriage, partial-birth abortion.

MR. NORQUIST: The Republicans came in, delivered the Republican vote for term limits in the House but didn't have the two-thirds necessary for the constitutional amendment. Some term-limit advocates have said, "Oh no, we didn't get everything we wanted." If you look at what the Republicans did in the House the first day, and then in the Senate, they term-limited committee chairmen. Speaker Gingrich is term-limited to eight years. Every committee chairman is term-limited to six.

That's turned the people who would be opponents of change into radicals. Bill Archer, for instance, now the head of the Ways and Means Committee, immediately walks in and says, "Let's get rid of the IRS and go to a sales tax." The other side of term limits is that now there are 2,000 state legislators in the country who are term-limited, and so every six and eight years, you're turning out competent, well-funded, well-known state senators and representatives who can become serious challengers to the incumbents of either party.

MR. HITCHENS: On the partial-birth question, the irony for the pro-choice people—most of whom are secular and consider themselves scientific—is that it's precisely the advance of medical science, and in particular embryology, that has redefined the viability of an unborn child, earlier and earlier. Probably the sonogram has done the most to recruit support for the pro-life cause.

MR. LUNTZ: One issue that's not going to hit this year but it's bubbling underneath and it's going to explode is education. Americans are disgusted with the shape of public schools. Every time a Republican or a Democrat talked about it at either convention, the reaction was more positive than anything else except eliminating the IRS.

MS. BOWMAN: But do people think of it as a federal issue?

MR. LUNTZ: That's the challenge. It will be very hard for Republicans to deal with because it's a state and local issue, and very hard for the Democrats to deal with because they're in the pocket of the teachers' unions.

MR. HITCHENS: Clinton began to attract the attention of the DLC types by taking on the teachers' union in his home state. This is an issue on which he's probably quite maneuverable.

MR. LUNTZ: When they hear about teachers' unions, Americans hear the word *teacher.* They don't hear the word *union.* It's the one union in America that Americans still feel even remotely positively towards.

MR. FARRIS: You have to explain to Americans that only so many people can make a decision about a child, and if they want their child to have a person who loves them and cares about their making the decisions, as opposed to some remote bureaucrat, getting rid of the Department of Education puts the decision-making back in that teacher's hands and in the school board's hands and in the parents' hands. There's also the related issue of parents' rights. That will be on the ballot in Colorado. It's a case of the villagers versus the parents.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Republicans are using the President in TV ads, and Democrats are using the Speaker in TV ads. How's that working?

MR. LUNTZ: People still feel that their member of Congress is local. Newt Gingrich is a distant figure. He's something in Washington. So the strategy is flawed. I don't blame them for using it, because we tried it ourselves. It's one thing to use it against the President in 1994, because he is the President of the United States. It does not work as well when it is a Speaker of the House.

MR. HITCHENS: It used to be speculated in the Reagan-Bush years that there was cognitive dissonance among the electorate in that they would like to have a president who was tough on the communists and strong on national security, and then when it came to the House and Senate, they wanted to make sure that there were fuzzy Democrats who would keep the checks coming. Could it be that this is now being inverted?

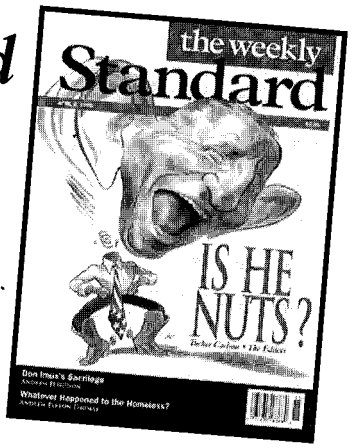
MR. LUNTZ: I don't see any intensity for Bill Clinton. Even his own voters sit there and talk about why they don't like him. The intensity for the Republicans that existed in 1994 is not there because people say, "Been there, done that." The frustration among those people in the middle, the Perot types, has actually increased. Whereas they turned out in 1992 and 1994, I don't think you're going to have that same level of turnout in 1996.

MR. HITCHENS: A woman held up a banner saying "Republicans for Clinton" the other day at his rally. I don't know whether she was a plant or not, but if she wasn't, she is not the harbinger of anything as far as one can see. There are no Clinton Republicans.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"*The Standard* is required reading up here. You have to see it to be part of the conversation."

– John Kasich
House Budget Committee Chair



"I don't think you can do without it if you want to know what's going on in Washington."

– Robert Novak
Syndicated Columnist

POLITICS
IDEAS
CULTURE

Be part of the conversation with

THE WEEKLY STANDARD

The Weekly Standard covers the political and intellectual debates. It also influences them. Find out why this magazine is a must-read.

Try *The Weekly Standard* today!

Call 1-800-677-8600

or fill out the order form below

6 FREE ISSUES

RETURN THIS REQUEST FORM TODAY!

Yes! I want to try 6 free issues of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.
If I like them, send me 26 more (32 total) for four monthly payments of only $9.99 each – saving me 47% off the newsstand price. If not, I'll simply write cancel on the bill, return it, and owe nothing. The six free issues are mine to keep.

☐ Please bill me ☐ Payment enclosed

Send to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96110, Washington, D.C. 20078-7769

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

The Weekly Standard is published 50 times annually. Please allow 3-5 weeks for delivery of first issue. Cover price is $2.95. Rates good only in U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two Cheers for the Suburbs

By Allan Carlson

It's always tempting to knock the suburbs: I have done it, at times, myself. Yes, they tend to be numbingly repetitive and stylistically incongruous. Sure, they gobble up good farmland and have depended on oceans of cheap gasoline and rivers of asphalt for their survival. And obviously, they lack the rootedness of farms, the identity of villages, and the ethnic links, extended families, and neighborhood pubs of the urban immigrant ghettos.

Yet for all that, about 55 percent of Americans now live in suburbs or suburb-like environments, up from 20 percent a half-century ago, a shift in preference that must be labeled revolutionary. Federal tax, housing, and transportation policies had something to do with this remarkable change. So did propaganda mills such as Henry Luce's Time-Life empire, which cast the suburbs as the locus of the "New America," superceding old ethnic and regional loyalties. Even the Cold War ethos embraced suburbia; as Bill Levitt, of Levittown fame, once explained: "No man who owns his own house and lot can be a communist. He has too much to do."

At the same time, though, something more fundamental, and more human, has been at work. In G.K. Chesterton's 1910 tract, *What's Wrong with the World,* the English journalist observed: "As every normal man desires a woman, and children born of a woman, every normal man desires a house of his own to put them in." Chesterton emphasized that this normal man "does not desire a flat" nor a semi-detached house, with walls necessarily shared with others. Instinctively, he wants "a separate house," on its own piece of ground, built with the "idea of earthly contact and foundation, as well as [the] idea of separation and independence." This normal man wants, as well, an "objective and visible kingdom; a fire at which he can cook what food he likes; a door he can open to what friends he chooses."

Viewed charitably, the American suburbs represent an unrivaled fulfillment of these instinctive dreams. A nation of renters in 1940—when only 44 percent of housing was owner-occupied—became a nation dominated by home-owners, who now inhabit 64 percent of all housing. For the first time since industrialism fundamentally transformed American work and living patterns, the homeowner has again become the authentic American. Land and housing have been widely distributed, and the opportunities for family formation advanced. Even average newly married couples can enjoy the illusion of ownership, and the reality of equity. These are changes for the good.

For nearly two decades, family life in America responded to the home-owning revolution with an astonishing vitality. Between 1946 and 1964, the proportion of persons ages 20 to 40 who were married reached an historic high, the divorce rate declined, and the marital birth rate climbed sharply. For the first time since 1840, American families appeared to be growing stronger, rather than weaker—changes closely bound to the new suburban life.

True, not only cities but farms as well were emptying, with the suburbs drawing folk from all locales. While the movement from city-to-suburb represented an attempt to regain some attachment to the land, the movement from farm-to-suburb derived from the rapid automation of farming during and after World War II, as ever larger tractors and combines made human laborers superfluous. Without legal restraints on farm technology—no tractors larger than 10 horsepower, say—which were never contemplated here, and an end to federal transportation subsidies that favored national over local agricultural markets, also not considered in this century, the process became inexorable. Still, the suburbs allowed these agrarian refugees to find a residual attachment to land and place.

Those moving to the suburbs from the cities came for other reasons, and they were normally satisfied with the results. Some fled mounting urban crime. Crime rates are highest in large cities and lowest in rural areas, with the suburbs falling in between. Others came for better schools. While cause and effect might be disputed, the public education statistics do show suburban schools to be—on average—the best performing. This has been due, at least in part, to the responsiveness of these schools to parental expectations, rooted in turn in the smaller size of many suburban school districts. Indeed, in an age primarily given over

Illustrations by Laurie Hamilton

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American suburbs have delivered homes to millions of families who would not otherwise have them, and they stand up well in comparison to living experiments in other places.

to state centralization, the suburbs have encouraged a countervailing decentralization of governance, forcing a healthy kind of competitiveness onto local governments.

Still others came to the suburbs seeking "community," and here the research again shows the expected results. When compared to city dwellers, suburbanites have been more family-oriented, more home-centered, more neighborly, and more inclined to take part in community affairs, although when compared to persons in small towns, the suburbanites have turned out to be "less friendly" and their communities "less complete."

So the suburbs stand, as expected, in the middle. While far from the utopia dreamed of by architect Frederick Law Olmsted back in 1868 (suburbs, he predicted, would represent "the best application of the arts of civilization to which mankind has yet obtained"), they are at least a more successful response to modernity than the models found elsewhere on the globe.

Indeed, the American system only gains luster as it is compared to others. The Swedes, for example, chose in the 1930s to pursue a different course. While ample land was available there for single-family, detached housing, socialist planners opted instead for a communal emphasis. They built urban highrises and "family housing" centers surrounded by greenbelts to accommodate the accelerating flow of country people into the cities. Collectivized nurseries, day care centers, and an array of government subsidies and services complemented this intentional diminution of nuclear family bonds. The result has been a nation where the autonomous family, rooted in marriage, has largely dissolved: over half of new births in Sweden are outside of marriage, and all the children are effectively wards of the state. Family ruin, a bloated welfare state, and urban communalism have occurred together.

True, vital urban cultures can still be found in cities like Rome and Paris. Yet these places might also be labeled "child-free zones," and the incompatibility between modern urban life and children plays itself out in their perilously low birth rates. "Where are the children?" I have asked when visiting these places. "In the suburbs," I am invariably told.

In post-Communist nations such as Russia, the lack of decent housing is the central family issue. The high-rise apartments around Moscow, even at their best, are cramped affairs, fundamentally unfriendly to the presence of the young. Once again, collectivist fantasies about "urban community" have claimed a vast human toll in delayed or foregone marriages and never-to-be-counted children.

So the critic of the suburbs must, in the end, answer the question: What is the alternative? Under mid- and late-twentieth century conditions, where else could Chesterton's "normal man" gain that free-standing house and that piece of ground to share with a spouse and children?

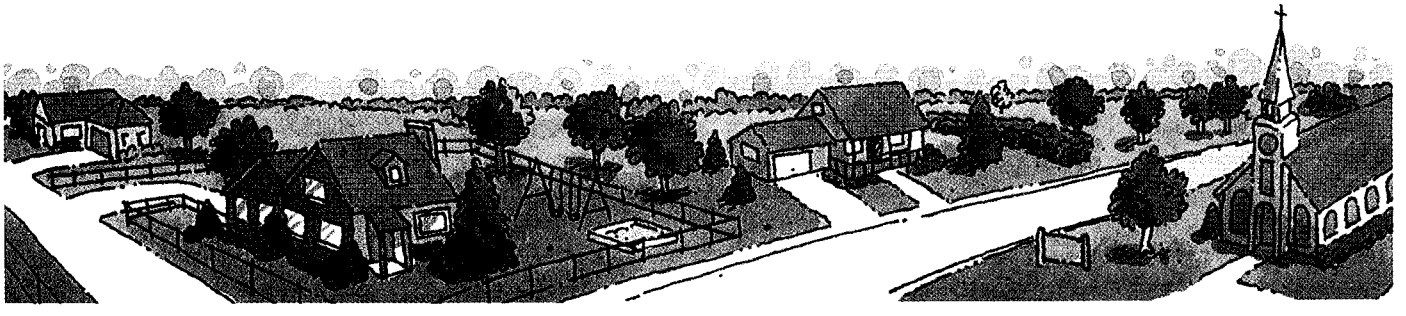
Some of the more obvious problems of suburbia are also diminishing. As these communities grow older and more settled, the age segregation found earlier has tended to recede, leaving a more natural mix of generations, even extended families. Racial isolation has diminished as well, with the flow of our black middle class to collar communities.

The gravest flaw of suburbia, to my way of thinking, has been the way it exaggerates the separation of home from work. Although this division was as old as industrialization itself, the suburbs that took form after World War II further alienated the father/husband from the daily life of the family. They also stranded the housewife/mother in "less complete" communities, where resentments could grow—and would after the mid-1960s.

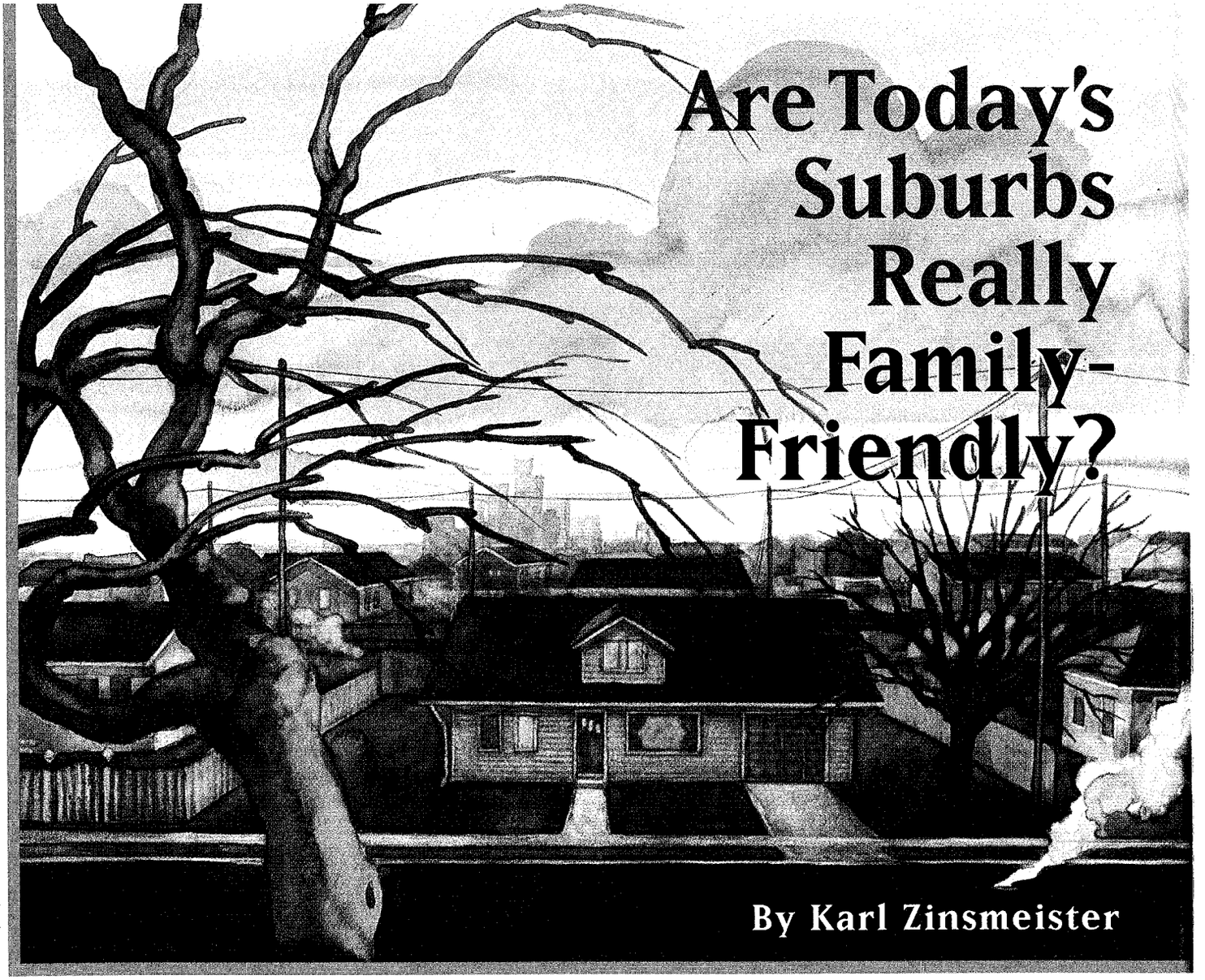
Yet the 1990s bring some evidence that this breach is healing. After several false starts, home business resting on telecommuting is enjoying meaningful expansion. In many areas, newly constructed homes are expected to be wired and outfitted to participate in this novel, home-based commerce. At the same time, parents are rediscovering the possibilities for home production, centered on their families. The "home school" revolution, growing almost geometrically over the past 20 years, occurs primarily in suburban precincts. According to recent reports, home gardening is also growing there.

Human family relations, conditioned for a thousand generations to life in rural or village locales, will find no natural home in the modern industrial cities. For some time now, Americans have looked for a practical accommodation between family living and modernity. The post-war American suburbs represent such a compromise: to be sure, one distanced from the communitarian ideal, and one bearing the typically American scars of haste and hucksterism. Nonetheless, the American suburbs have also delivered homes and plots of land to millions of families who would not otherwise have them, and they stand up well in comparison to the living experiments in other places. And so, with a small sigh, I raise my coffee cup and offer two cheers for suburbia.

Allan Carlson is president of the Rockford Institute and author of three books on family life.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Are Today's Suburbs Really Family-Friendly?

By Karl Zinsmeister

Illustration by Terry Shoffner

Suburbs are where the majority of Americans live, and Americans are not idiots. The virtues of suburbs are many: They are generally safe and peaceful. They are economically affordable (on their outer edges at least). They provide their residents with lots of physical comfort, ample space, and wide consumer choices. Suburban politics tends to be reasonably responsive.

Suburbia is particularly favored today by families raising children. "Naturally family-friendly terrain" is how most of us think of such places. Suburbs are also considered the homeland of conservatism, of social traditionalism, of America's Norman Rockwell virtues.

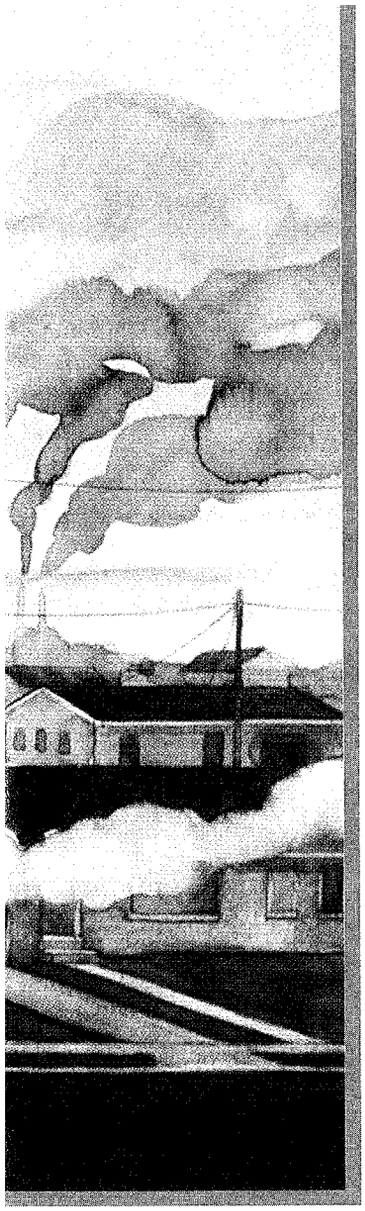
There are many good and understandable reasons for these impressions. Yet the truth is that suburbs as they have been built in this country over the last 50 years are much less conservative, traditional, and family-friendly than we sometimes imagine. In "the innumerable suburbs that have sprung up since the Second World War," the great conservative thinker Robert Nisbet once wrote, "there is little more sense of community than there is in a housing project."

If we step back and compare suburbs to the ways people have lived for most of human history, we see that suburbia is actually a fairly radical social experiment, and one directly linked to many modern woes. The hurried life, the disappearance of family time, the weakening of generational links, our ignorance of history, our lack of local ties, an exaggerated focus on money, the anonymity of community life, the rise of radical feminism, the decline of civic action, the tyrannical dominance of TV and pop culture over leisure time—all of these problems have been fed, and in some cases instigated, by suburbanization, in ways that few people anticipated a generation ago when mass suburbs were first being created.

The Suburban Appeal

Modern tract suburbs are completely understandable as a reaction against the barbarism that has overtaken most American cities. My family and I are ourselves refugees from a major East Coast city, and I completely sympathize with people who say that our big urban centers have become unlivable for families. They have. That's why we left. So as I describe what I see as the problems of suburbs today, don't imagine that I think most parents should be raising their children in downtown Chicago or Los Angeles or Manhattan. That would represent jumping from the frying pan into the fire for most families.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



But before we discuss possible alternatives to suburbia, let's begin by simply noting that today's typical suburban development is desirable to families not so much for what it *is* as for what it *isn't:* It is not dangerous, not dirty, not racially tense, not uncivil, and not plagued with broken-down public services and disastrous schools as most of today's cities are. Nor is life in the average suburb as economically tenuous as life can be in small town or countryside. The suburb is thus a kind of *anti*-location which, while hardly ideal, is well hedged against the opposing rural and urban risks of modernity. The single most important thing suburbs offer their residents is security—more physical security than cities, and greater economic security than the average small town.

Deep in the heart of most parents raising children, though, is a hope that their community will be not only safe and inexpensive but also *neighborly*. Friendship, informal cooperation, and mutual aid are tremendously important both to children and to the adults taking care of them. Alas, most suburbs have turned out to be much less neighborly places than one would hope.

Perhaps the best aspect of today's suburban diffusion is the opportunities it provides for individual choice. Professor Robert Fishman describes today's large metro areas as "*à la carte* cities." While no single locality offers a full set of community services, an enormous range of possibilities is available within an acceptable car trip's distance. You pick your mall, your office park, your residential street, your child's daycare and school. There are the secondary choices of exercise club, video store, medical clinic, car repair station, and favorite ethnic restaurants. You assemble all these into a daily travel package, and that is your "community."

The advantage of this is that everyone's "community" is highly personalized. One person likes racquetball, sushi, the Gap, and colonial ramblers. Another wants a weightlifting club, steakhouses, Sears, and a split-level ranch house. They can live across the street from each other.

An obvious disadvantage of this life is that we become slaves to our cars, with traffic, smog, and congestion now worse in many suburbs than they were in dense downtowns. This threatens the very ease, moderate pace, and pleasantness that drew us to the suburbs in the first place.

A deeper, less obvious price of modern suburbanization is that none of our fellow residents shares more than just a small piece of common turf with us. Since the "community" assembled by your next door neighbor is frequently very different from your own, the occupants of suburbia are separated and partitioned off from each other. Denied a common physical community, we must seek out human connections in other places instead: in our shopping, our workplaces, or in the artificial "neighborhood" of television shows.

The mass-produced tracts of suburbia never pretended to be great incubators of individualism. But the original suburbanites, fleeing what they called the "chilliness" of modern urban life, did hope that suburbs would satisfy the natural hunger for human connection—as small towns and old-style city neighborhoods had in the pre-modern era. In practice, though, suburbs turned out to be relatively inhospitable places for individualism and community life both.

A Neighborhood's Physical Structure Influences its Social Life

Urban historian Lewis Mumford once described the spatial structure of a town as the "container" for its social system. A neighborhood's physical layout not only *reflects* the values and preferences of residents, he says, it helps *form* them as well. Winston Churchill made the same point with his observation that "we shape our buildings, then they shape us."

There is no doubt that suburbanization has changed social interaction in America. "The classic suburb is less a community than an agglomeration of houses, shops, and offices connected to one another by cars," writes architect Andres Duany.

The best foundation for strong community life is regular personal contact among residents. The traditional neighborhood, with its easy daily interactions, provides many such opportunities. Take the humble sidewalk (something few modern suburbs have). The exchanges that take place when neighbors randomly cross paths on foot are categorically different from those that occur around office coffee pots or at evening dinner parties. For one thing, they are less guarded. When you bump into someone on your way back from the mail box they see you unmasked—with your hair rumpled, or a cross word for your misbehaving child on your lips, or an easy arm around your spouse. Meeting on territory where you both know every cracked brick, loud dog, and weedy flowerbox, there are ample opportunities for forming communal alliances. Family matters and talk about how to improve the local community will be the foremost topics of discussion. You learn something about a neighbor each time you encounter him or her in this way. If you live in such a way as to miss these casual meetings (or so that they take place through two panes of auto glass instead of face to face), you are deprived of a golden chance for familiarity and closeness.

Karl Zinsmeister is DeWitt Wallace Fellow of the American Enterprise Institute and editor in chief of The American Enterprise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Suburbs Cut Roots

Suburbanization also disrupts community life by encouraging neighborhood turnover. The suburban boom that began after World War II brought a sharp increase in the moving rate of American families (particularly the rate of long distance moves). Each year now, nearly *one out of five* American families relocates to a new home. That's about twice the rate that prevails in most industrial countries, and the majority of our movers are suburbanites.

The original suburbanites, fleeing what they called the "chilliness" of urban life, had hoped that suburbs would satisfy the natural hunger for human connection.

The 1990 census showed that nearly half of all Americans age 5 or older were living in a different house than they'd occupied in 1985. In the course of a lifetime, the average American will occupy 13 different residences. This is particularly hard on children. Any childhood that includes several moves, studies show, carries real risks.

Adults suffer too. People living in transient areas show many more signs of psychological disturbance. A strong correlation exists, for instance, between the rate of family migration in a locality and the number of divorces that occur. Suicide levels are also linked to the frequency of residential turnover.

The very nature of the suburban day encourages rootlessness. It's been calculated that typical suburbanites will travel the equivalent of more than 20 times around the globe in a lifetime of commuting. Not only breadwinners but also all other family members are affected. As a Hungarian visitor to this country once remarked, "It is very interesting, in America the children are being brought up in moving vehicles." A whole generation now exists that has never known a more settled life.

In a short story, G. K. Chesterton described a protagonist who "found himself in some strange way weary of every moment," yet "hungry for the next." That encapsulates a certain modern personality, one that easy-in/easy-out suburban residences may feed. For transitoriness, as author Max Lerner notes, is built right into the suburb:

> As a man moves from production line to foreman to shop superintendent, or from salesman to division manager to sales manager, he also moves from one type of suburb to another.... By stages the family moves from court apartment to ranch house, and adopts new ways of behavior, new standards of tastes, and new circles of friends.

There is a wonderful aspect to this process, namely its social and class openness. But in its course, families end up putting on and taking off neighborhoods and neighbors like so much old clothing—and there is a price attached to that.

In any case, economic migration accounts for only a small part of our suburban house trading. Though "a lot of people think Americans move for reasons like jobs," says Jeanne Woodward of the U.S. Census Bureau, official figures actually show that only one in five relocations is employment related. In the largest number of cases—about half—families pull up stakes simply to find "a house that fits them better." This consumer's hunt for a more perfect physical environment drives the suburban whirl. One early suburbanite captured its essence when he remarked to *Harper's* in 1953 that "After all, this is only the first wife, first car, first house, first kids—wait 'til we get going."

Towns Without History, Towns Without Values

In communities where there is little shared history, residents often lack unity and direction. After studying the disastrous record of the "urban renewal" and New Town projects in Europe and America that knocked down existing older neighborhoods and replaced them with new "improved" ones, David Riesman concludes that "there were values concealed in the most seemingly depressed urban conglomerations which were lost in the move to the more hygienic and aseptic planned communities—much as farmers for a long time failed to realize that worms and other 'varmint' were essential to a well-nourished soil."

Like a lot of modern experiments, the suburban experiment has had a certain machine-like artificiality to it. At its core lies the social engineer's confidence that if you don't like society the way it is, you only need manufacture a new society. Never mind all the social evolution, and individual trials and errors, and intangible little inheritances from history that go into making existing communities work. Just get a plan and some money and build a *new* structure.

Let's not forget that the government played a huge role in funneling people into suburbia. For one thing, the feds poured vast sums into low-interest FHA and VA mortgages that could only be used for new houses, not for renovating existing homes in small towns or urban neighborhoods. And in the 1960s and '70s the government bulldozed thousands of acres of downtowns in the name of urban renewal, with only the most half-baked ideas of how to regenerate the flattened homes and businesses. Governments also spent billions building new suburban roads and freeways to feed commuters to the new locations. This was a direct subsidy for greenfield suburban construction, and, worse, the new thoroughfares also wrecked many existing communities. City neighborhoods were slashed by elevated highways, and outlying towns had the life snuffed out of them by beltways and controlled-access interstates.

Making the World Over

America is a progressive, future-oriented society always ready to try doing things a new way. This gives our nation a dynamic quality we should be profoundly grateful for. But this impulse, like all impulses, needs to be governed. The liberal, make-the-world-over mentality that serves us so well in, for instance, the realm of technology can cause great damage if applied without caution in the world of human relationships. When it comes to things like building workable communities, raising children, and defining our obligations to fellow citizens, a lot more humility is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

called for. People have irreducible natures and needs that cannot be "improved" or manipulated in the ways that products and institutions can—as failed social makeovers ranging from the Great Society to today's attempted redefinitions of the family make clear.

The idea of relocating most of the American population within one generation to brave new communities only just carved out of hay fields was a bit heady—somewhat reminiscent of modern efforts to end drug abuse with pills, to stop racism with school buses, to eliminate poverty by writing checks. Tract suburbs, like much else that emerged in the decades after World War II, were a technocratic response to human problems that were mostly moral and economic.

Americans accept suburbs, but they aren't the people's choice. When Gallup asks where we would most like to live, only 25 percent of us select a suburb.

And with no past, no inherited standards, no evolved wisdom wormed down into their cores, suburbs lacked a base on which to build cooperative feeling. So when the late-twentieth-century winds of materialism, selfishness, anonymity, and rat-race workaholism whistled through American society, families in many suburbanized communities flapped in the breeze.

Feeding Giantism

Big new suburban developments often extinguish existing community life when they move into a locality. With the arrival of commuter towns and their highways, "villages and open country settlements that have lived more or less aloof from the large center nearby are in a short space of time incorporated into an urban community," writes historian Amos Hawley. "Village institutions are replaced."

Consider Gwinnett County, Georgia. Situated some 30 miles northeast of Atlanta, Gwinnett County contained fewer than 45,000 people in 1960. The startling suburban boom that has since taken place around Atlanta increased county population to more than 300,000 in 1990. By the year 2000 the county may have 450,000 residents.

That is more people than many cities contain. Yet the suburbanites of Gwinnett County have little sense of community identity. When the *New York Times* purchased the *Gwinnett County News* and tried to compete with the *Atlanta Constitution,* it found that the suburban residents had no attachment to Gwinnett County and could not care less about having their own newspaper. County residents have no common attachments beyond the impersonal, homogenized ones of shopping in the same malls, rooting for the same mercenary athletes, consuming the same metropolitan media, and living standardized managerial/professional lives hardly different from those lived in Fairfax, Virginia; Orange County, California; northern New Jersey; or scores of other similar places.

One reason suburbanization tends to depress community life is because of the sheer giantism it encourages. "Where the leading metropolises of the early twentieth century—New York, London, or Berlin—covered perhaps 100 square miles, the new suburban city routinely encompasses two to three *thousand* square miles," notes Robert Fishman. "Developments of cluster-housing are as large as townships; office parks are set amid hundreds of acres of landscaped grounds; and malls dwarf some of the downtowns they have replaced."

It isn't only the physical territories that have become massive in the era of suburbanization, but the institutions as well. At the end of World War II, the average local school system had fewer than 250 students. Today it has more than 2,500. There are lots of big suburbs with single schools containing 3,000-4,000 students. This fosters neither individual character nor civic unity.

Suburbanization has created megalopolises that sprawl indistinguishably across vast territories of southern California, New Jersey, and Florida. It has turned separate cities like Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, or Dallas and Fort Worth, into huge octopuses. This is alienating, and not even efficient. Just as our bloated federal government now needs downsizing and decentralizing, so too would our metropolitan areas benefit from being broken up into smaller local communities (see pages 59-64 for more on this). But to increase local self-determination we must stop thinking about our home communities in the way suburbanization has taught us to—as cogs in a much bigger metro-area machine, as waystations to be moved through as we trade up the income ladder, as commute endpoints.

Suburbanization and Children

Young singles and the elderly may do fine in anonymous suburbs—they have time to motor about the *à la carte* city, grazing on its sprawled choices, and they may actually appreciate suburbia's exaggerated privacy and absence of neighborly involvement. But for child-rearers, the typical tract suburb can make life miserable.

More than any other human beings, parents and children need human attachments. In his study of American ethnic groups, demographer William Petersen analyzes the unusually low child delinquency rates of certain nationalities, particularly Asian Americans, and says their secret is that "parents' responsibility for rearing their offspring is to some degree borne by the whole ethnic community." In traditional communities, neighbors watch out for trouble and offer aid and encouragement to families. Children are expected to take direction respectfully from all adults. Relations between parents and offspring, and between husbands and wives, are subject to informal social regulation. If mistreatment or neglect occurs, ostracism and sanctions will come from the whole community.

This kind of community-wide interest in the young still exists in certain settings. Studies show, for instance, that kids growing up in small towns get to know far more adults well, and in more varied ways, than do metropolitan children. Urban children can receive the same benefits, says historian Jane Jacobs, if they have "the opportunity (in modern life it has become a privilege) of playing and growing up in a daily world composed of both men and women...on lively, diversified city sidewalks." These days, though, only relatively few children experience either small-town streets or secure city sidewalks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lots of suburban homes have turned into little more than evening leisure centers and weekend crash pads.

While home life is the foundation of a healthy upbringing, a child's world needs to extend further than one quarter-acre. "It is an uncommon family which can provide all of the things a complete and well-rounded community could offer—facilities, a sense of participation in ongoing community activities, places where teenagers and adults can spontaneously meet, and a chance to observe life as it is lived outside of living room and yard," writes Rutgers University professor David Popenoe. Good mothers and fathers know there are times when children need to be shooed out of the house and toward the sandlot, park, or pond.

If community life is sparse, even the best mothers and fathers will have trouble rounding out their child's personality. "In this respect," asserts author Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, "families living in today's richest suburbs are barely better off than families living in the slums. What can a strong, vital, intelligent 15-year-old do in your typical suburb? ...What is available is either too artificial or too simple." There are no nearby stores, or bustling workshops, or true natural areas, nor even any ice rinks, libraries, or barber shops that can be reached without a car and chauffeur.

In suburbia, writer James Howard Kunstler observes, school-age youngsters have little public realm to explore and place themselves in. Turn to "The City Life We've Lost" on page 51, and read the childhood recollections of cruising sidewalks, window-shopping downtown, walking to gyms, and lazing in parks. Contrast those activities to a typical childhood in suburbia today—where often the only "public realm" easily available to older kids is *television*. Which is why TV has become such a childhood addiction.

Suburbanization and Parents

Suburbs also lack support systems for parents—the reason so many suburban childraisers show signs of exhaustion today. Civilizing the barbarians we call children is tough work. Parents of preschoolers in particular need sympathetic ears and slaps on the back. They need people next door who can watch Junior in a pinch. Yet suburbanization has cut families off from the relatives and neighbors who used to be nearby to help with these things.

Suburbanization also finalized the separation of homes from workplaces and businesses. This is now partially reversible, thanks to technology that opens up fresh possibilities for work at home (as I know from personal experience). But old ways of thinking, zoning and labor-law prohibitions, and other barriers need to be broken down.

In separating homes from worksites, suburbanization accelerated the disconnection of men from home life. Right from the beginning, suburbs became daytime ghettoes for women and children. Moreover, those mothers have had to carry out their duties in isolation. Often the only way for them to escape their suburban quarantine is to get in a car—a discouraging prospect for people who already feel as if they are "half woman, half station wagon" from chauffeuring children to distant schools, doctors, and lessons. When the *Wall Street Journal* recently asked one harried "soccer mom" what single social reform would do the most to improve her quality of life, she replied, only half facetiously, "If they lowered the driving age to ten." This particular woman has put 40,000 miles on her minivan in the past 18 months squiring her three girls (ages 11 to 16) to events.

That isn't a great prescription for enjoying parenthood. No wonder lots of new mothers feel like climbing the walls. Too many find their suburban residences strangely unnatural places to nurture children and make a home.

For an early picture of this, consider David Riesman's description of an interview with a mother living in an upper-middle-class suburb of Chicago in the 1950s:

> Her husband had been transferred to Chicago from a southern city and had been encouraged by his company to buy a large house for entertaining customers. Customers, however, seldom came, as the husband was on the road much of the time. The wife and three children hardly ever went downtown (they had no Chicago contacts anyway), and after making sporadic efforts to make the rounds of theater and musical activities in the suburbs, and to make friends there, they found themselves more and more often staying home, eating outdoors in good weather and looking at TV in bad. Observing that "there is not much formal entertaining back and forth," the wife feared she was almost losing her conversational skills.

Is it surprising that women eventually revolted, and that the family boom which began with so much optimism after World War II petered out rather quickly? The kaffeeklatsches, block organizations, and neighborhood social groups that so impressed early suburban chroniclers had mostly disappeared by the time the first generation of suburban kids left home.

The loneliness of average suburbs poisoned many Americans on the possibilities of life at home. In 1963 Betty Friedan published her anguished, angry cry from the heart of suburban Westchester County—complaining in *The Feminine Mystique* that suburban mothers felt painfully abandoned and out of the mainstream. Her book struck a chord among influential upper-middle-class women, sold well nationwide, and launched a zealous feminist reaction against the very idea of home-making and child-rearing as occupations. Friedan hit upon a real problem, and one still with us: the trivialization of domestic life as it was shunted into sterile suburban camps. Americans who would prefer that their wives and daughters not follow Friedan down the path to NOW-style feminism would do well to think hard about how the current structure of our suburban communities feeds this problem.

continued on page 104

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kentlands, Gaithersburg, Maryland

The New, Neighborly Architecture

Can Traditional Buildings Bolster Traditional Values?

For years and years, the apostles of modernism have chanted the dreariest of mantras: "You can't recreate the past." I know this because in the 1970s, when I was a young newspaperman, I used to annoy architects by asking them why they couldn't design things the way they were built 50 or 100 years ago. At least one designer responded to my insouciance by telling me, a bit testily, that the world had irrevocably changed, and I'd better get on board the modernist train if I wanted to avoid the terrible fate of irrelevance.

What sweet recompense it is for me—and what a blow for modernists—to see that at century's end, the past is not so dead and useless after all, but is, on the contrary, brimming over with lessons for the present and the future. Not only have a number of architects (among them Boston's William Rawn, Washington, D.C.'s Allan Greenberg, and Vero Beach, Florida's Scott Merrill) learned to design individual build-

By Philip Langdon

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ings that exemplify the best in traditional architecture, but, increasingly, entire neighborhoods are being laid out on traditional lines. Some of the most influential models in community design today are places that were erected in the nineteenth century.

In the test of time, communities built in the early 1900s have turned out to be much more soul-satisfying than the subdivisions churned out since World War II. Our pre-war communities tended to have an intimacy that supplied a joyful depth (and a dollop of gossip) to everyday life: Adults knew most of their neighbors, their character, and their idiosyncrasies. Children walked to school, church, and ballfields on a grid of well-watched sidewalks. The essentials of daily life were close by, in corner stores, neighborhood bakeries and taverns, and other locally-rooted enterprises. Such communities, in their heyday, possessed a robust combination of customs, institutions, and authority figures that helped to discourage bad behavior and encourage responsibility. Neighborhoods were by no means problem-free, but they had resources for overcoming setbacks, and they offered plentiful satisfactions for people of every income level. For these reasons, traditional community design is being revived and given an opportunity to do battle against the contemporary American ills of isolation, diminished community life, and inadequate guidance for the young.

The Elements of Community

The designers and builders who are now trying to reapply the principles of older communities generally choose one of three names for their work: "Traditional Neighborhood Development," "Neo-traditional Development," or "New Urbanism." The first two are fairly easy to understand. Murkier is the academic-sounding term "New Urbanism," which was coined in an attempt to provide a common umbrella for those who want buildings and towns to look like places from the past and those who, on the other hand, combine their admiration for traditional community layouts with a preference for modern buildings. In any case, it is the *community* layout, culled from centuries of tradition, that's critical to this movement. Building style is secondary.

What are the key precepts of the new traditionalist community? Above all, a belief in the importance of the public realm—streets, sidewalks, parks, and gathering places. In a well-conceived traditional community, the individual buildings work together to form coherent public spaces where people see and talk with one another. Almost always, a traditional neighborhood is a walking neighborhood; houses are close enough together and near enough to the street so that neighbors cease to be strangers. The architects who have done the most to push this movement into public consciousness, Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk of Miami (allied with others such as Berkeley architect Peter Calthorpe), lay out neighborhoods on the basis of a five-minute walk. Within a quarter-mile, a resident should be able to reach a neighborhood park, services such as a dry cleaner and a convenience store, and a current or future public transit stop. In prominent locations within the community are schools, churches, and civic buildings—testaments to the traditionalist insistence on using the power of architecture to affirm civilization's highest strivings.

New traditionalist developments tend to have narrow streets (to slow the traffic), on-street parking (to shield pedestrians from the passing vehicles), front porches (preferably at least eight feet deep, commodious for sitting), and public ways with pleasant, well-defined edges—hedges, picket fences, rows of street trees. Garages are dethroned from the place of honor they've been accorded in the modern subdivision. Rather than let an 18-foot blankness of garage door dominate the street, traditionalists relegate the garage to the back of the lot (where it stood inconspicuously in the 1920s and 30s), or recess it behind the house's facade, or make it accessible from a rear alley—making the house once again an attractive, expressive part of the public scene.

A little over 100 such developments are currently in planning or construction, according to the newsletter *New Urban News*, most of them in a broad territory from Pennsylvania and Maryland through Virginia, the Carolinas, Florida, Alabama, and Tennessee, plus Colorado and the Far West. The two most notable developments under construction for the past several years are Duany/Plater-Zyberk's Kentlands, a 356-acre undertaking begun in 1989 in Gaithersburg, Maryland, within commuting distance of Washington, D.C., and Harbor Town, a 130-acre project laid out by RTKL Associates of Baltimore and begun in 1989 on Mud Island in the Mississippi River, a bridge trip away from downtown Memphis.

Someone to Talk To

Neo-traditionalists seek much more than just a visual effect—they aim to create a different, more neighborly, social life within their communities. The crucial question is: Do their grids and buildings and design principles actually achieve this? Do their towns really turn out to be the cohesive neighborhoods their developers promise?

To answer this, I interviewed people living in Kentlands, in Harbor Town, and in older communities built along the lines neo-traditionalists are trying to revive. I discovered that, on the whole, these communities deliver what the new traditionalists say they will. With shallow front yards and smaller house lots than in conventional developments, residents say there is a noticeable increase in neighborliness. "If you're out doing yard work, everybody stops and chats," says Steve Christian, a Kentlands homeowner. "After a big snowfall, we helped each other shoveling the driveways and all had chili afterward. There's more of a sense of a community than anywhere else we've lived."

Steve's wife, Sandra, a stay-at-home mom, told me she had felt "terribly isolated" in the townhouse development where they lived before moving to Kentlands. "It cleared out at

Traditional community designs are being revived and given an opportunity to do battle against contemporary American social ills.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Downtown Celebration, Florida

9 a.m," she recalled. By contrast, at Kentlands, where she takes care of their young son except when volunteering at the local Rachel Carson Elementary School, "there are a number of women around during the day, and they're easy to meet, since the houses are close together and people frequently go out walking—to the swim club, to a nearby shopping center, to the lake, or nowhere in particular.

Harbor Town resident Jim Howell says that in the conventional development where he previously lived, on the east side of Memphis, he and his wife "might have known two to three neighbors on each side of us. Here at Harbor Town, we know 50 neighbors. You live closer together, the streets are narrower, and you know so many more people because you're out walking and things are going on. People in the afternoon are out in the yard or on their porches. They bring grills out to the garages. There's a cocktail party in somebody's house." After Jim's wife, Amy, gave birth this summer, six- and seven-year-olds would come to the door and ask, "Is it convenient for me to come and see the baby now?" Jim observes, "It's a more protective environment."

This setting benefits children at least as much as it does adults. Youngsters in a traditional neighborhood obtain a healthy degree of autonomy that's difficult to get in cul-de-sac subdivisions. More is within easy reach because of the compactness, and there are numerous routes to most places over an extensively connected street network. Faith Kusterer, a Kentlands mother, notes that her daughter Elena walked to piano lessons she took for two years in the home of her instructor, a woman they knew within the development. "She could go to the store alone on her bike to get anything from candy to school supplies," Mrs. Kusterer added. "It's afforded her some opportunities to be out in the community and to be independent."

James Krohe Jr., a writer who for six years lived and worked in Oak Park, Illinois, a grid-plan Chicago suburb founded in the nineteenth century and now containing 53,000 people in 4 1/2 square miles, says that in many old traditional communities, the availability of public transportation helps youngsters to explore their world and to mature. "It was not unusual for Oak Park kids 13 or 14 years old to have a relationship with the larger city—to take classes or go to private schools in the city," says Krohe, who recently moved to Portland, Oregon. "Compared to the suburbs immediately to the northwest that were not served by Els [Chicago's elevated public transit lines] and that were less served by commuter rail, kids in Oak Park were much more comfortable moving about in the larger metropolis."

What America seems largely to have forgotten, in designing the automobile-dependent suburbs of the past half-century, is that youngsters need a modulated introduction to the world beyond their block, so that they can cope with, and learn to thrive in, a country that has never been, and never will be, entirely safe or homogeneous. The typical new suburban subdivision tries in the main to withdraw its children from the society's difficulties, leaving them without the skills and judgment to manage unfamiliar situations. "There's a fearfulness I find in kids in the newer suburbs," Krohe says. "They can't mix. They can't go anywhere without private transportation. The most horrific examples of violence I recall in the Chicago area were kids from the suburbs who got lost in the city and were raped or robbed because they weren't prepared and didn't know what to expect." Youngsters from Oak Park, by contrast, learn to size up situations "so they won't be bullied so easily when they are exposed to danger," Krohe observes. "It makes them competent and confident members of a larger society."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Help When It's Needed

Of course, minor troubles occur everywhere. In compact traditional communities they're likely to be noticed and to stir a response. Philip Nero, in Shorewood, Wisconsin, an early-twentieth-century Milwaukee suburb, tells of the time his son fell from his bike, and a witness to the mishap comforted the boy and walked him the rest of the way to school. Would this happen in a conventional subdivision? Sometimes it would. But the closeness and visibility that are characteristic of traditional communities make it easier for such acts of neighborly assistance to take place.

By the same token, misbehavior, when it occurs, is also likely to be noticed. "When kids do something they shouldn't, they're often caught doing it," says Barney Gorin, a Kentlands homeowner. "They're often yelled at by somebody other than their own parent. For example, one neighborhood kid set off a smoke bomb in someone's house. After that, he was in deep trouble with a big chunk of the neighborhood." For some time, his movements were closely monitored by adults leery of what would happen next. "Since then," Gorin relates happily, "his behavior has come around to where it should be."

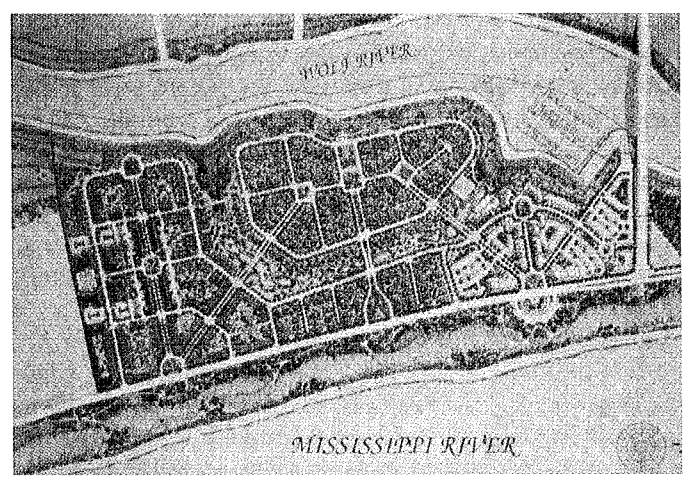
Many new traditional communities feature a range of housing not separated into rigidly exclusive tracts. Kentlands contains apartments, row houses of varying sizes, detached houses, and—above the garages of some of the detached houses—small units that can be rented out or used as home offices. Mostly these auxiliary units are rented to singles. The result is neighborhoods with a diversity of ages and incomes—from young people on tight budgets to middle-aged and older people with comfortable incomes. (Duany initially hoped that auxiliary apartments would enable grandmothers to live next to their children and grandchildren; so far, however, extended families don't appear to be in a rush to reassemble in this fashion.)

Residents of traditional neighborhoods generally prefer such diversity and believe it wards off some of the insularity exhibited by subdivisions containing only a thin slice of society. "I've always thought it's very important for our children to know lots of adults other than us—to have other role models, models of decent human beings—and that certainly has happened here" at Kentlands, says Mrs. Kusterer. Family breakups do occur, whether at the same rate as elsewhere it's not known. (An absorbing community life conceivably relieves some of the pressures on a marriage, and promotes family stability.) In any event, the mix of age groups, when combined with a traditional community's close-knit society, offers what is probably a stabilizing influence for the children of divorce. In Mariemont, Ohio, a leafy one-square-mile suburb of Cincinnati laid out in the 1920s and interwoven with apartments, row houses, duplexes, and detached dwellings, there are many older people, and a number of them volunteer for an after-school program for children, many from single-parent families. Former mayor Richard Adams says quite a few single-parent households have moved to row houses in Mariemont from other municipalities, in part because children in the village of 3,100 receive a traditional community's tremendous social asset—a balance of supervision and community-monitored freedom of movement, which is harder to achieve in conventional subdivisions.

In a vigorous traditional American community, new institutions spring into being as conditions call for them. Fifteen years ago, for instance, Mariemont generated an organization of residents 55 and older, the MariElders, which reaches out to older people who have begun to slip into isolation. Supported by village taxes, the MariElders involve people in tours, lectures, card games, and other activities. The organization has been invaluable, Adams says, because "there were an awful lot of people who were eating alone all the time."

At Kentlands, too, there is an energetic institutional life. The three-year-old Kentlands Community Foundation promotes educational programs and charitable and philanthropic work in the Gaithersburg area, including concerts, town lectures and debates, and food and clothing drives. From each house's sale price, four months of homeowners' association dues is allocated to the all-volunteer foundation. The homeowners' association so far has given the foundation a total of $117,000. Traditional communities, if they are not overly large, also foster in their citizenry the ability to use local government to positive effect. In a place like Oak Park, Krohe says, "government is big enough to do you some good, but small enough that you feel you could have some impact on it. There is a sense of interdependence, unlike the sense in the outer suburbs that government is just a nuisance that takes your taxes."

Of course, with a whole generation of Americans having grown up in isolated outer suburbs, neighborly interdependence may not be what most people now look for when they shop for a home. In the *Washington Post* last year, reporter Steve Twomey described Lori and Bob Scarbrough, who had lived in Herndon, Virginia, a suburb where they and other residents would pull their car into the garage, enter the house by an interior door, and rarely have contact with the neighbors. When they first looked at Belmont Forest, a new traditionalist town that Duany/Plater-Zyberk designed in northern Virginia, the Scarbroughs, now in their early 50s, were concerned that the houses were spaced too closely. But they moved in, and now love the coziness and neighborly camaraderie. Libby and Walter Cable, who arrived in Belmont Forest from a similarly isolating suburb in Annandale, Virginia, likewise wondered at first if they would lack privacy. But now, as they



© LRK Architects, Inc. 1996

Layout of Harbor Town, Memphis, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

share the close-knit community with their two daughters and grandchildren and swap front-porch talk and visits with neighbors, they think of their new surroundings as a supportive and comforting re-creation of the small-town life of their upbringing.

Allison Bradfield, who lives with her husband and two small children in Belmont Forest, finds that the sidewalk activity, the front porch life, and the sheer proximity of dwellings in the neighborhood ward off the anonymity of conventional suburban developments. She knows every one of the 12 families on her street, she reports, and "what all of them do, where they're from, and what they want of life" She acknowledges that "if you didn't want to know your neighbors, you wouldn't want to live here."

That is perhaps the biggest issue of all facing proponents of new traditionalists: Just how many Americans are there who actually want to live in a community where they'll know their neighbors, and be known by them? Are walkable neighborhoods just a small market niche, or something that millions of American families would find to their liking?

Probably the strongest indication that the new traditionalist town is more than a hobbyhorse for nostalgic visionaries is the Walt Disney Company's decision to build an entire new community near Orlando, Florida, complete with schools, parks, lakes, an old-fashioned walkable downtown, a health campus, up to a million square feet of office space, and neighborhoods full of houses in historical styles. Celebration, as the new town is called, began construction in the spring of 1995 after nine years of painstaking preparation, involving the prominent New York urban design firm Cooper, Robertson & Partners in cooperation with Robert A.M. Stern Architects. (Other influential architects involved include Michael Graves, Philip Johnson, Cesar Pelli, and Graham Gund.) This is no tiny boutique project—its 4,900-acre tract, buffered by a 4,700-acre greenbelt, is to be developed with up to 8,000 houses and apartments, housing as many as 20,000 people. It has been estimated that by the time Celebration is completed in eight to ten years, some $2.5 billion will have been invested. Celebration elevates traditionalism from the province of mostly small, local, and often contrarian developers to the realm of amply financed mainstream corporations. And with Disney being America's leading caterer to the middle-class imagination, the entertainment conglomerate's decision to venture into community-building has stirred great interest among architects, builders, and developers across the country, not to mention the general public. In its first two months after opening, the Celebration preview center attracted more than 20,000 visitors, and 8,000 of them signed up for a chance at one of the first 500 sales and rental appointments. With the first-rate talent that Disney is able to call on, Celebration should be good enough, big enough, and conspicuous enough to affect the direction of American building nationwide.

Obstacles in the Road

Traditional communities, then, tend to uphold central principles of good citizenship: vigorous involvement in a geographic community; interchange with people at different stations in life; a healthy combination of guidance and independence for youngsters; responsive local government; and local support of culture, charity, and philanthropy. All of this amounts to a kind of communal bulwark against the impersonality and deadly materialism of America's modern mass culture. If the true test of traditional community design is how the people within its boundaries conduct themselves, particularly their public lives, by that standard traditionalism is a success.

© LRK Architects, Inc. 1996

Harbor Town, Memphis, Tennessee

Traditional community development seems also to accord with a broader traditionalism in values. A recent survey of three neo-traditional communities in Maryland and California found that a majority of residents identified themselves as conservative or moderate. With this in mind, some critics have dubbed neo-traditionalism "family values architecture."

It is indisputable that for every Kentlands under construction there are still a hundred newly built Isolation Estates, where the family of a physician never crosses paths with the family of a mail clerk, and where there's little incentive to stroll down the block, because it's a dead end. And even in traditional communities, whether new or old, it's a formidable task to attract and keep assortments of small, locally owned stores—in times past, the very embodiment of a neighborhood's personality and convenience. The vastly enlarged consumer market-sheds created by the automobile have caused a large decline in mom-and-pop establishments, a loss that traditionalists, despite their ambitions, are hard pressed to combat.

Nonetheless, the traditionalist movement is the brightest hope to arise in community design in a long while. The next step is to break down the barriers that actually forbid developments like Kentlands and Harbor Town from being built in much of America. The hindrances are many. The inflexible hand of zoning must be loosened so that mixtures of different kinds, sizes, and prices of housing can be included in a community, and so that small commercial enterprises like stores, cafes, and other hallmarks of a sociable neighborhood can legally be built within residential areas.

Transportation departments must change their standards requiring wide roads and maximum vehicular use and start injecting pedestrian comfort into their calculations—for walking is a prime source of community consciousness. If we are serious about building cohesive communities, we would demand that governmental and educational institutions reconsider their policies on what and where to build. Branch post offices would not be oriented mainly to the convenience of 18-wheelers, but would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be designed to enhance community gathering (few services generate as much local interchange as a well-placed post office). Boards of education would integrate their schools into neighborhoods rather than granting educators their selfish wish for acres of parking and lawn on a sprawling campus—a trend that consigns high schools to edge-of-town or out-of-town sites and prevents students from circulating through the community and its business section the way students did in an era when town centers contained a community's major functions.

If we take the well-being of communities seriously we will do all these things and more. The past half-century has been spent constructing an impersonal world of shopping malls, master bedroom suites, the ultimate in car transportation, and an extreme emphasis on privacy—a consumer paradise according to proponents, but in reality a centerless zone where what's on TV, sadly, seems more compelling than the public life waiting just outside the front door. We can do better. If we turn our energy to it, the lives of individuals, families, and communities will reverberate with the improvement.

Philip Langdon is author of A Better Place to Live: Reshaping the American Suburb *(University of Massachusetts Press, 1994). He lives in a walking neighborhood in New Haven, Connecticut.*

Neo-Traditionalist Architect Andres Duany Explains How to Build Better Communities

Andres Duany, whose family fled Castro's Cuba in 1960, when he was 11 years old, has done more than probably any other architect in America to revive the art of traditional community design. He and his wife and partner, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, both educated at Princeton and Yale, left the flashy modernist firm of Arquitectonica in 1980, and have since—with their staff of about 27, most of them based in an elegantly converted aircraft machine shop in Miami—designed more than 135 projects in the U.S., Canada, the Caribbean, Europe, and Australia. Their ideal model is the classic American small town, and their first designs were adaptations of actual nineteenth-century layouts. Work by Duany/Plater-Zyberk Architects ranges from the resort town of Seaside, Florida, to suburban developments like Kentlands, in Gaithersburg, Maryland, to urban rebuilding efforts in such cities as Providence and Cleveland. About 35 of their projects have begun construction or implementation. Duany was interviewed for The American Enterprise *by Philip Langdon.*

TAE: You've looked at how people behave in neo-traditional developments like Kentlands, as opposed to the typical subdivisions built since the Second World War. What makes life in a traditional development better?

DUANY: I focus first on those who are ill-served by suburbia: for example, the children who can't drive around. It's very obvious that in Kentlands they behave differently and they have a much richer life. They have access to some 270 acres of sidewalks, streets, houses, and backyards, and a school, places to shop, etc., as opposed to the kids in suburbia who have cul-de-sacs. A cul-de-sac is great for young kids. The problem is that there's nothing beyond the cul-de-sac; they're simply cul-de-sac kids. The way that places like Kentlands and Seaside are designed is a much richer experience for children, particularly as they get older.

And then there are the old people. I have met senior citizens in Kentlands who are looking confidently at staying in place, rather than going to retirement communities. When Kentlands receives its town center, it'll make a lot of sense to just retire in place, because older people won't need to drive around for things.

TAE: Do you think community design affects family life?

DUANY: I think that for families of different means to grow up together is healthy. Although people think it's all expensive, there's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an extraordinary income mix in Kentlands. There are rental apartments right next to expensive houses, as well as townhouses and mansions very close to each other. I once had the experience of having dinner with some 15 people from one block of Kentlands, and I couldn't tell the ones who had bought the expensive houses from the ones who paid half or a third as much. I think that affects the kids. I see them play together, and some are townhouse kids, some are mansion kids, but they're still playing together. There's no possibility of snobbism at that level, the kind of false superiority that happens in suburban tracts. People see how similar they are.

Andres Duany with his wife and design partner, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk.

I think the standard upper middle-class family that can afford several cars is served fairly well in suburbia. They make a choice: they spend their money owning cars, they spend their time commuting and driving around. That's a choice that some of them are happy with. So better community design may be less critical to the standard family. But for the single mother, for instance, it's very important. Our secretary in the Kentlands office, for example, is a single mother, and it's convenient for her to just walk down the street and work with us. Her daughter drops by all the time. It seems to be a nice relationship. She doesn't mind working late. She's a block from her house. If that could be achieved more often, it would be marvelous.

Also, people who work in our office are building houses in Kentlands. The young architects have found little bits of land, little slivers of ground that are normally wasted in the conventional development, not suitable for conventional housing, and they're building houses for themselves on them. What has enabled them to do that is the intentional imperfection of the planning in Kentlands, where, rather than making every lot perfect, everything standardized, we let some lots be less than perfect. Rather than being eliminated, they became less expensive, and so they became available to a class of persons who normally couldn't afford a lot.

TAE: In the past, you've talked a lot about the importance of having things such as "granny flats," small auxiliary apartments over the homeowner's garage or at the back of the lot. How have they fared?

DUANY: Right now there's a waiting list for them. But they're no longer affordable, because of scarcity. Some of them are renting for $900 a month. So, obviously, more of them need to be provided.

But the more interesting and radical contribution is the live-work unit which allows people to incubate their own business, working at home. They are the commercial equivalent of affordable housing. After some resistance because there's no precedent, we now have several builders, including three in Kentlands, who want to build live-work units. In fact they're competing with each other. One of them is a conventional "big-time" builder who just sees the future in that.

TAE: What kind of work do these units accommodate?

DUANY: It could be retail, although I think they will principally be used for services, information management, lawyers, professionals, creative types, art directors, artists, advertising people. These are people who periodically need to meet with their clients, but generally they don't have the constant stream of traffic associated with retailing.

TAE: Does technology influence this?

DUANY: Technology has a tremendous influence.

TAE: In what ways?

DUANY: Live-work units are the physical manifestation of the revolution in decentralization that the Internet provides. We're now designing a whole variety of these units, not just living above the store, but having an office in the backyard. Even on a 36-foot-wide lot we have units now that provide a workplace to the rear.

TAE: One of the things that's been very difficult for neo-traditional towns has been getting larger concentrations of employment, something beyond an individual working out of his house or out of an auxiliary unit.

DUANY: Well, I'm not sure it's difficult if there's a market. The thing that happened to the first generation of our new towns, such as Kentlands, was that they came on line when the office market was overbuilt. In Kentlands, we planned very substantial office buildings. But then came the overbuilding of offices due to federal tax breaks (these are still unoccupied eight years later). If we hadn't inherited that distortion, there's no reason our projects wouldn't have offices in balance with housing. As it happens, right next to Kentlands there is an office park which essentially balances Kentlands. And in the new extension of Kentlands on the National Geographic property next door, which will double Kentlands' size, there's going to be an office park.

TAE: So you think that it is going to be possible to get workplaces interspersed with, or very close to, the places where people live?

DUANY: Haile Plantation, a development in Gainesville, Florida, already has them. It has a terrific town center.

TAE: To continue my earlier question, what does having workplaces close by mean to families and children?

DUANY: It's basically an ideal, in the sense that you have a short commute. Some people would like to remain at home for work; some people prefer a certain distance. For me, the ideal separation of work and home provides a possibility of coming home for lunch. I remember when I grew up in Cuba, the school children came home for lunch and so did the parents. I saw my father every day at lunch. And that's terrific—it really confirms the family, several times a day. So that's an ideal, perhaps unattainable for some, but what does one design for except towards an ideal?

TAE: How do you overcome the obstacle of zoning that doesn't allow different, complementary things to be mixed together?

DUANY: Actually, one of the extraordinary successes of the New Urbanism is that wherever I go these days, it feels different from five years ago. We used to arrive as foreigners, almost extraterrestrials: "What do you mean, asking about these odd things?" Now I can't remember the last time I showed up in a place, whether it was Southwest, Northeast, Southeast, where mixed use wasn't the talk of the town. The planning departments are finally prepared

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to receive this. The planning profession has absorbed, directly or indirectly, the concerns of neo-traditionalism, and we increasingly find sympathetic people and even legislation in place to accommodate it. Still, we have difficulty with the road standards, the fire chiefs, and so forth. That's harder to explain. Most technical specialists don't understand how to make a public realm which really works for pedestrians? That's less well understood than the advantages of mixed use.

TAE: What's the biggest frustration for you in promoting traditional community design?

DUANY: One of the things that astonishes me about people who assess places like Kentlands is that they say, "Well, it has failed to do this or that," without any notion that creating a town requires time. You know, urbanism is not instantaneous.

TAE: What additional things will towns like Kentlands have when they have fully evolved?

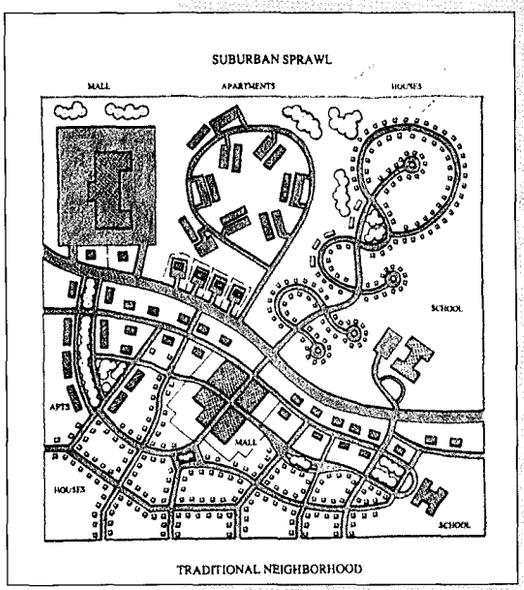
DUANY: More live-work units, a series of smaller shops, and a lot of entertainment, like restaurants, movies, and a skating rink. And retirement housing, a couple of buildings of managed care.

TAE: Are there other projects that are going to exert a big impact on the future of development?

DUANY: Disney's town of Celebration in Florida is going to play a huge role. It's an enormous breakthrough because of its economic success. See, Americans don't emulate ideas that have a limited market in this country. But they will emulate economic success. The economic success of Seaside has been important to neo-traditionalism, but the economic success of Celebration is crucial to what's coming.

I think developers will look past the fact that it's Disney and see that it's replicable. Some of its success has to do with Disney. But it has to do with conventions that happen to be very well presented by Disney. None of our other projects has had much advertising budget. What Disney is able to do for the first time is to promote the traditionalist idea beautifully. What we've been speaking about for 15 years is now becoming widely understood. So I'm very excited.

Some Specific Community



The following is adapted from a handbook put out by Duany/Plater-Zyberk Architects describing neo-traditionalism and how it differs from current practices. For more on Duany's principles, see "Zoning Kills Community Life" in our SCAN department.

There are two types of urbanism today: The traditional neighborhood, which was the model in America from the first settlements until World War II, and suburban sprawl, which has been the model since then. The two models are quite different.

THE TRADITIONAL NEIGHBORHOOD HAS THE FOLLOWING PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES:

• A neighborhood has a living, independent identity. When clustered with others, it becomes a town; when standing free in the landscape, it becomes a village. The neighborhood varies in population and density to accommodate local conditions.

• The neighborhood is limited in size so that a majority of the population is within a five-minute walking distance of its center (¼ mile). The needs of daily life are mostly available within this area: convenient work places, stores, community events, leisure opportunities, and transportation connections to more distant places.

• The streets are laid out in a network, so there are alternate routes to most destinations. This permits most streets to be smaller with slower traffic, and to have parking, trees, and side-

TRADITIONAL

City block

Main street stores

Houses frame the street

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Principles of New Traditionalist Design

walks. Such streets are equitable for both vehicles and pedestrians.

• The streets are spatially defined by a wall of buildings that front the sidewalk in a disciplined manner, uninterrupted by parking lots.

• The buildings are diverse in function, but compatible in size and disposition. There is a mixture of houses (large and small), outbuildings, small apartment buildings, shops, restaurants, offices, and warehouses.

• Civic buildings (schools, meeting halls, theaters, churches, clubs, museums, etc.) are often placed on squares or at the termination of street vistas. By being built at important locations, these buildings serve as landmarks.

• Open space is provided in the form of specialized squares, playgrounds, and parks, and, in the case of villages, greenbelts.

Most suburbs have quite different physical attributes:

• Sprawl is an undisciplined collection of isolated "pods," each dedicated to a single use, such as "shopping centers," "office parks," and "residential clusters." All of these are inaccessible to each other except by car. Housing is strictly segregated from other buildings, and comes in clumps of similar cost, hindering age-mixing, mobility, and socioeconomic diversity within the same area.

• Sprawl is limited only by the range of automobiles, which encourage retail catchment areas often exceeding 50 miles.

• There is a high proportion of cul-de-sacs and looping streets within each residential pod. Through traffic is possible only by means of a few "collector" streets which, consequently, become easily congested.

• Vehicles dictate the scale and form of space, with streets being wide and dedicated primarily to the automobile. Parking lots typically dominate public areas.

• Buildings are often highly articulated, rotated on their lots, and greatly set back from streets. They thus fail to define spaces or form a sense of place. Civic buildings do not normally receive distinguished sites.

• Open space is often provided in the form of "buffers," "pedestrian ways," "road berms," and other ill-defined residual spaces.

The neighborhood has several positive consequences:

•Neighbors meet easily on well-defined streets and squares, coming to know each other and to watch over their collective interests.

•Because the activities of daily living are within walking distance, everyone (especially the elderly and the young) gains independence of movement.

• By reducing the number and length of automobile trips, traffic congestion is minimized, the expenses of road construction are limited, and pollution is reduced.

• By providing a full range of housing types and work places, ages and classes are integrated, and the bonds of an authentic community are formed.

• Local identity and civic initiative are supported by suitable civic buildings and spaces.

Suburban sprawl has several negative consequences:

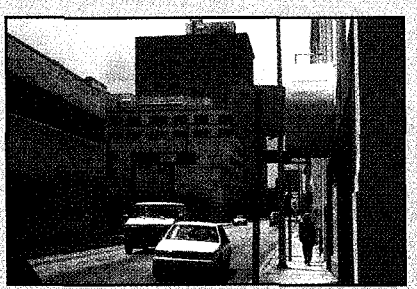
• Every undertaking requires a car trip. In the construction of a huge paved infrastructure, natural landscape is destroyed. Each automobile not only generates roadways, but also requires a paved parking place at the dwelling, another at the workplace, and yet another at the shopping center.

• By consigning huge quantities of public funds to the auto infrastructure, the human infrastructure of good schools, post offices, fire stations, meeting halls, cultural buildings, and affordable housing is starved.

• The middle class is forced into multiple auto ownership. The average yearly cost of car ownership is $5,000, which is the equivalent of payments on a $50,000 mortgage. The possibility of owning one less car is the single most important subsidy that can be provided towards affordable housing. A person who drives 2 hours a day spends the equivalent of 8 working weeks a year in the car instead of in community life or personal use.

• Young persons below the legal driving age are dependent on adults for their social needs. They are bused to schools, from which they cannot walk, and isolated at home. Parent-time is inordinately devoted to chauffeuring. The single family house with yard is a good place for childhood only if it is structured as part of a neigh-

Modern



City block

Stores in parking lot

Housing pod with jumbled site alignment

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

borhood within which children can meet other adults and children, and walk or bicycle to school, play, the store, or friends' houses.

• The elderly lose their self-sufficiency once they lose their drivers' licenses. Healthy senior citizens who could continue to live independently within a neighborhood must be consigned to specialized retirement communities where their daily needs are met at great cost.

Some other important features of livable neighborhoods:

• Buildings must be aligned along streets and squares. The current fashion of staggering or rotating buildings hinders the creation of public space defined by the buildings.

• Trees along streets must also be aligned in a disciplined manner. Picturesque planting patterns should be reserved for parks and squares, not for streets and avenues.

• Parallel parking must be provided on most streets. A layer of parked cars cushions pedestrians from traffic. Parking lots should be placed to the rear of buildings to avoid the gaps that make sidewalks uninteresting to use. House lots, if less than 50 feet wide, should be provided with alleys so that garage doors do not overwhelm the street facades.

• At intersections, the street's turning radius should not exceed 15 feet from the curb. This maintains a viable pedestrian crossing distance and reduces the speed of automobiles making the turn.

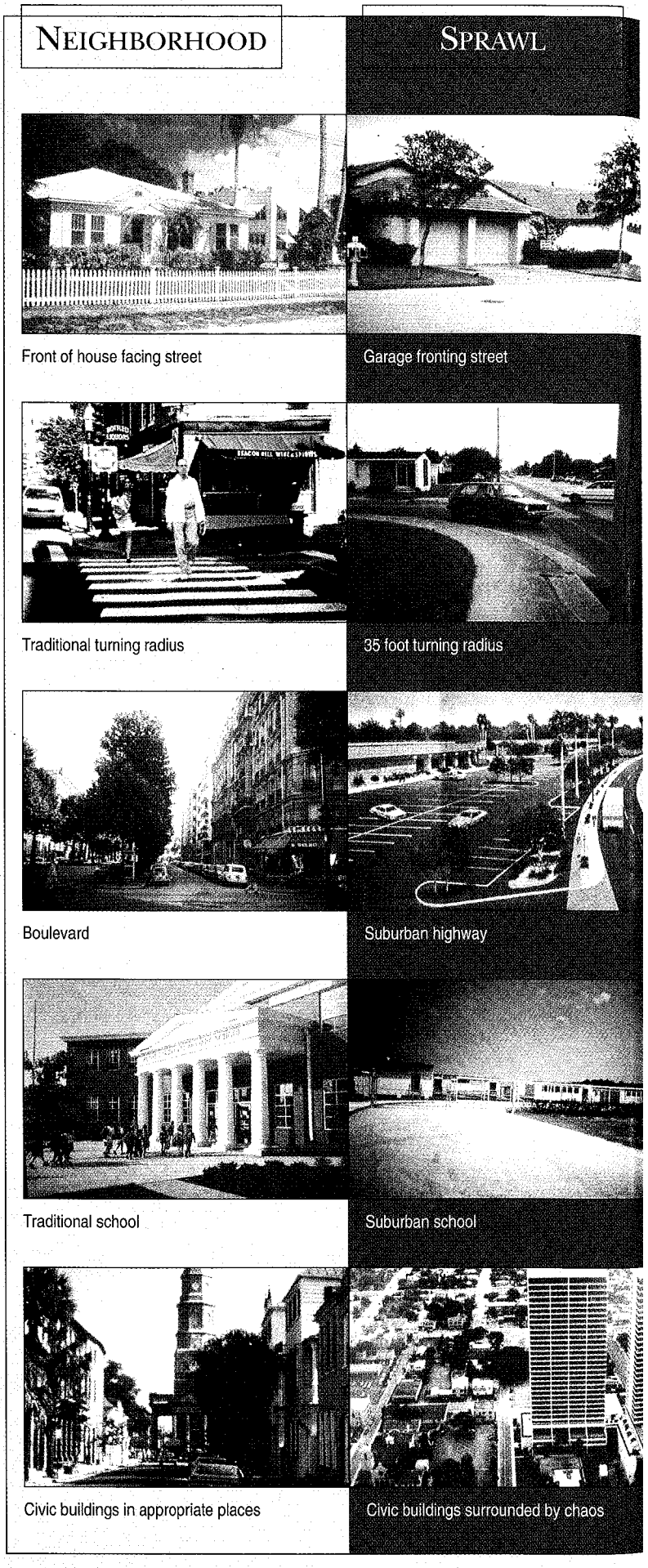
• High capacity streets within urbanized areas should be avenues or boulevards, not highways. Highways are unpleasant for pedestrians and deteriorate adjacent building value, while avenues are compatible with buildings and people. Highways should be reserved for the countryside and be built without strip development.

• Lower-income housing should look like its higher-income neighbors, using similar exterior materials, windows, and building forms. The more affordable housing should not be segregated or clustered in large numbers. A good ratio is one affordable unit to ten regular units.

• Housing is provided above retail establishments. This type of dwelling can be provided for the cost of construction alone, because the cost of land can be assigned to the retail component of the building.

• Garage apartments or cottages are available in the backyards of single-family houses. These rental units, of limited size, provide extremely affordable housing that is interspersed with market-rate housing. This also allows young adults and the elderly to live near their families.

Current building and zoning codes are concerned only with things like traffic flow, parking counts, the segregation of building uses, and the preservation of wetlands. New codes must be written that include effective provisions to protect and encourage neighborhoods. What needs fostering is *healthy human habitat* in all its complexity—something every bit as deserving of consideration as the natural habitat so eagerly guarded by modern Americans.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The City Life We've Lost

Within living memory, cities were places of decency and grace.

Ten essayists paint the details of urban life one generation ago.

Victor Gold

Driving into New Orleans on the interstate, I veer off the I-10 overpass at the first opportunity and enter the city proper, mindful of Earl Long's warning against expressways as a bane of urban life. Back in the 1950s we laughed at our hopelessly rustic governor when he criticized our progressive mayor for building "so many damn-fool freeways, throughways, overpasses, underpasses, and bypasses, a farmer can't find his way to market." Strictly speaking, the mayor wasn't the culprit. It was Washington, streamlining the federal highway system. But Earl was never one to make fine distinctions when given a free shot at a political opponent, and in any case his warning was prescient. Farmers aside, those expressways have proven to be more curse than blessing to the New Orleans I know, and to American cities in general.

Overhead view of Canal Street at the corner of Bourbon, looking toward the Mississippi River.

To visitors, New Orleans is the French Quarter—narrow, crowded streets lined with baroque wrought-iron balconies that reflect the city's French heritage. But natives know another city, one of broad avenues with evocative names—Esplanade, Elysian Fields, Napoleon—that feature wide greens where canals once ran. Until the 1960s these neutral grounds were neighborly places where pick-up football games were interrupted only by approaching trolleys or the snowball man. The idea of an overhead structure that would transmogrify these playgrounds into sunless caverns was as remote as the possibility of trading our clangorous green streetcars for the dehumanizing mobility of Chicago's El. Yet that is precisely what's come to pass.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Certainly not all the change that's taken place in the past half-century has been for the worse. Few lament, for instance, the disappearance of those WHITE ONLY/COLORED ONLY signs on public facilities. Still, an Orleanian who remembers the special look of Canal Street on Saturday afternoons in the '40s and '50s—a gleaming stretch of marble bustling with activity, the showplace boulevard of the South—can only wonder if Earl, for all his Luddite rhetoric, wasn't on to something.

Victor Gold is a former presidential speechwriter.

Joseph Epstein

I am old enough to remember being afraid of white guys. As a grammar school kid in Chicago, I can recall being afraid of a bunch of thuggish kids who went to a nearby school called St. Henry's, many of them working-class and with the reputation—justified, I suspect—of being Jew-haters. In high school, I remember guys from all-white Schurz High School walking around the track during a football game against my school, Senn, with chains wrapped about their fists, though the police were able to stop them before a full brawl broke out. After a basketball game against a now-defunct school called Waller, five or six of our team's players were caught, beaten up, and at least one sent to the hospital. Later, at the University of Chicago, a group of young Presleys and Brandos one night invaded a fraternity house I happened to be in, with no better motive than that of what we today call "kicking some butt," which they proceeded to do, at one point banging guys over the head with beer bottles.

So the good old days were not unblemished. But what distinguished them from our days, and what can be extracted from all of the examples I have cited above, is that most violence had at least something in the nature of an explanation behind it. Anti-Semitism may not be a justification for violence, but it is an explanation. So, too, are high school rivalry and, in the university incident, what I take to be class resentment. Motives, causes, effects, logic of some sort was in play.

Today so much of the violence on our city streets is without even the crudest logic. If one is beaten up or even killed, the astonishing point is that one mustn't—you should pardon the expression—take it personally. The violence will have been committed upon you not because of your religion, or your school affiliation, or your good luck (up to now) in life, but because you happen to be in the way of someone who is bored, or angry, or needs a little dough, or a fix, or is firing at someone else. As you hit the sidewalk, try, as I say, not to take it personally.

But return with me now to those milder days of yesteryear, to paraphrase the announcer on "The Lone Ranger" radio show. I am, when I contemplate my own boyhood in Chicago in the late 1940s and early '50s, amazed at the freedom with which I roamed the city as a child. Using the "El" (or elevated train), one pretty much had the run of the city. By the time I was nine years old, my friends and I went miles away on the El to a movie theater called the Modé to see an afternoon's fare of three or four full-length films, a number of cartoons, and one or two continuing serials. The only fear was that we might get on the wrong train. We never did.

By 12 or 13, I was a seasoned walker in the city. And one of my regular stops was downtown, in the Loop, at a boxing gym called The Ringside. I had a special "in" at The Ringside, whose owners, Sammy and Danny Spunt, grew up with my father on tough Notre Dame Street in Montreal. I sopped up the gym's atmosphere as a hobo might go after the gravy on a free meatloaf-and-mashed-potatoes lunch.

I still recall its smells of liniment and leather. I can hear the shuffling of black Hyde boxing shoes in the ring, the grunting of fighters banging away on the heavy bag, the rap-a-tap-a-rap-a-tap of the light bag, and the snap and whistle of rope as sweating fighters

Urban vice, circa 1943.

UPI/CORBIS-BETTMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I am old enough to remember being afraid of white guys.

did speed-up cross-handed jumping exercises. I remember Johnny Bratton's manager, a fat black man in a green corduroy jacket, black shirt, rust-colored hat, huge diamond pinky ring and another diamond stuck in his rust-colored necktie, a moist cigar plugged in his face. People in those days seemed to be sent over by central casting.

One day Danny Spunt brought me back to his locker to meet Tony Zale. This was around the time of the great Tony Zale-Rocky Graziano middleweight championship fights. Zale's hands were taped, he was in sweat pants and wearing a large leather apparatus over his privates marked Everlast. "Kid," I remember Danny Spunt saying, "meet the champ." Properly awed, I mumbled, "Hi, Champ." "Hi, kid," he replied, and turned away.

To misquote Jackie Gleason only slightly, "How sweet it was!" Today, no boy would be allowed anywhere near such a place. His mother would want him to stay away if only because she might worry about his taking too much secondary smoke into his lungs. Let us not even speak of the company in which her son would find himself. Let us not speak, either, of the Chicago El, on which, the last time I rode it, a year or so ago, I found myself winked at by a transvestite of *un âge certain*. I'm sure corruption aplenty was going on in that gym, fixing fights, drug connections, maybe worse, but none of it left the least harmful effect on me, because the world outside the gym seemed so secure. As for its good effect, it allowed me, at an early age, to glimpse an exotic scene close up, and the prospect was exhilarating. On the way home, I would pass Bensinger's Pool Hall, where one of the Willies, Hoppe, or Mosconi might be playing but where a 12-year-old was not allowed in, walk over to State Street, get on a Howard Street El, and think the world a very interesting place. I didn't have to think about its being a safe one. I already knew that it was.

Joseph Epstein is editor of The American Scholar.

Ken Hamblin

On summer nights when I was growing up in Brooklyn, my brother and I would be sent down the street to Dissick's, the neighborhood candy store, to pick up the early edition of the next day's *Daily News* for my mother and my Aunt Merle. I vividly remember occasions when my Aunt Merle opened the paper to the center picture spread, which always featured a crime story, and called me over to impart one of her wise lessons in her West Indian accent.

"Ya see. Ya see how dem boys, how dem young black boys, get in trouble because dey don't behave demselves? Lord knows, you got to behave yourself." There would be a picture of some black scumbag with his hands cuffed behind him and his head hung low.

"Ya see, ya see how when de police got dem dey hang deir heads down in shame, how dey can't look you in da eye. Ya see how dey ain't got no pride." Then she would turn on me, wagging her finger. "Boy, don't you never bring dat kind of shame on your family."

The few times the police had to come into our house or my mother had to walk down to the school because of me or because of one of my brothers or sisters, she was devastated. I still remember the tears and the stress that it caused her. I didn't want to bring grief to my mother, but being a normal kid I did have a couple of memorable encounters with New York's Finest.

The first took place when I was about seven years old. Edgar, who lived upstairs, was about nine. We both went to P.S. 41, and Edgar had this swell idea. He suggested that we go back to school some night and remove some items—clear-cut theft by any definition.

I had little interest in taking anything except these marshmallow cookies—some were white and some were pink, and all of them had coconut sprinkles on top. I was addicted to those cookies. Our teacher allowed us to buy only five cookies a day, no matter how many pennies we had. As a result, I was positive I suffered from cookie deprivation. So when Edgar suggested a surreptitious return to P.S. 41, I had a clear goal in mind: grabbing all of the marshmallow cookies I could eat.

As we left school on the day that I would become a thief, we stuck some paper in the door to block the lock. Sure enough, when we returned after supper, the door opened easily. We went directly to my homeroom. I opened the cabinet where the cookies were kept and commandeered a box of 200 Marshmallow Delights. As I headed for the door, I did a double take: Edgar was carting away a typewriter and an adding machine. At that moment it occurred to me that this caper could be getting out of hand.

We sneaked back into my aunt's apartment building and stowed our goods under the stairs. It appeared we had committed the perfect crime. In spite of my advanced state of cookie deprivation, however, I could not consume all 200 cookies before a green mold began to form on the uneaten ones. So after a day or two, my attention turned to the typewriter. I took it upstairs to my aunt's apartment, and I was pecking away when she came home and immediately identified something new in the house. Aunt Merle spoke to me directly, without a moment's hesitation, in her singsong voice. "Where you get dat?"

"I found it."

"Where you find someting like dat?"

Having no idea how to respond, I just kept pecking away on the typewriter keys. Before long, two of New York's uniformed officers were standing in the doorway of the bedroom peering down at me. My Aunt Merle, arms flailing, screamed in her thick accent, "Take him away. He know better than to steal. I don't want no tief in my house. Take him away. Take him outta here, officer. You hear me? Lock him up!"

Faced with my aunt's wrath, I did not hesitate. I ratted on Edgar and threw myself on the mercy of the cops. My mother and my aunt returned the equipment to the school and made restitution for the cookies. And I realized at that young age that if I was going to be a thief, a low-life, a brigand, I would have to leave home.

Adapted from Pick a Better Country *by Ken Hamblin, forthcoming from Simon & Schuster.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Henry Turley

I was born just before Pearl Harbor at 1268 Sledge in Memphis—near Lamar and Bellevue. I can remember when I got big enough to roam around—I was six or seven, it was about 1947. Just one block east of my house, there was a great mansion. It was on a hill and had a name—Annesdale. People named Snowden lived there. They must have been incredibly rich. One block in the opposite direction was Lamar Terrace, a depression-era housing project. Poor people lived there. Poor didn't mean poor forever then, and it didn't imply that those people should be kept separate and apart. In fact, people who were equally poor lived right on my street—in boarding houses and rooming houses.

My mother did warn me that if I hung around over there too much, I would surely get beaten up by the then-notorious Lamar Terrace gang. I reminded her that I needn't go so far for that. Dickie Bailey, youngest boy in a legendarily tough family, could do that right on my block—and did whenever he felt the call.

Lamar Terrace was all white then. But black people could be found in abundance a block and a half south on Heistan Place. They lived in wood shacks there, backing up to the railroad—at least until the post-war economic expansion really took hold and their houses were torn down and replaced by factories. I took some of the old lumber and made a tree house.

But the real treasures of the neighborhood were two blocks north, at the intersection of Bellevue and Lamar. A wondrous collection of stores was there: a hardware store; a bakery; a coffee shop; even a 5&10 cent store (imagine that), and more—everything strange and exciting for a kid of six.

There were two drug stores crammed with delights like ice cream sodas, but they weren't within my economic reach. I could only look at them, as I did—furtively—the girlie magazines. The druggist, Dr. Garner, was given to calling my mother. "Henry's down here looking at those books again. What shall I do?"

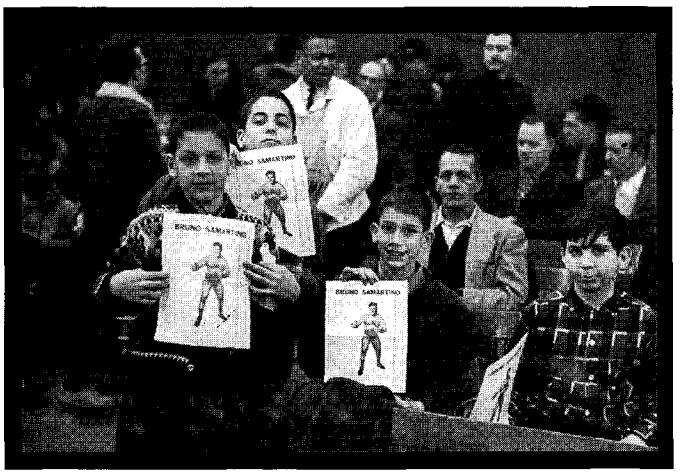
"Send him right home...and watch him across that busy street; he's sure to be killed."

So right there in my neighborhood there seemed to be everything—a hint of all of life's possibilities mixed in with all kinds of people. And it was within walking distance. It was small—just my size—and they even knew my name.

Henry Turley is a real estate developer in Memphis, Tennessee.

Rabbi Mayer Schiller

I lived in the Vanderveer section of Brooklyn in my early childhood. In 1957 we moved to Rego Park in Queens, a neighborhood of endless apartment houses. Although one would not call us poor (we all had food, clothing, and shelter), meager four-room apartments were standard. Fathers worked and mothers stayed at home to care for their children. There was no school lunch program. Those who lived beyond a seven-block radius were allowed to buy lunch (at full cost) and eat it in school. The rest of us walked home (in my case over 15 minutes each way) where our mothers had our lunches waiting. Incidentally, I don't recall anybody coming back late after lunch, or coming late to school in the morning. After school I'd find my "play clothes" prepared for me on my bed—"play clothes" being distinguishable from "school clothes" in those days. Girls, of course, had to wear a dress to school. Indeed, our principal, Mr. Kaimsky, allowed no women on school grounds if they were wearing pants.



Professional wrestling at Sunnyside Gardens in Queens. Mayer Schiller is seated front, second from the right.

Our school, P.S. 206, was roughly 80 percent Jewish. The "smart classes," unlike the "dumb classes" (as we all frankly described them), never had more than a handful of gentiles. The classes were large, 40 was the norm, but there were never any discipline problems. Misbehavior might mean that in the halls—where the rule was "no talking at all under any circumstances"—one was whispering. I don't recall the punishment for this, as I never dared do it.

Fridays were "assembly" days where we all gathered in the auditorium to hear Bible reading, Old and (horrors!) New Testament, and a prayer, before singing as a group. The songs were generally patriotic or (horrors again!) seasonally religious. Yes, this 80 percent Jewish public school sang very moving Christmas songs, and I emerged with neither my psyche nor my Jewishness any the worse for it.

Our moral view was shaped by everything around us from the Tom, Dick, and Jane books we read in school (which featured fathers and mothers, dressed with dignity and sure of their distinct roles) to the professional wrestling we watched three times a week on TV. "Bad guys" (Buddy Rogers, Killer Kowalski, the Kangaroos, etc.) were all braggarts who invariably cheated with the assistance of their loud-mouth managers (Bobby Davis or Wild Red Berry). "Good guys" (Cowboy Bob Ellis, Bruno Sammartino, Ricki Starr, and Pat O'Connor, to cite my favorites) were humble, never broke the rules unless provoked beyond endurance, and had infinite patience with fans, especially children.

"...watch him across that busy street; he's sure to be killed."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oh, yes, *Wrestling Revue* cost 50 cents at Gus's, the local candy store which we visited day or night without fear. Just as we rode the subways at all times to anywhere (except Harlem, thus rendering the Mets when they played at the Polo Grounds, off limits except with parental supervision).

Evenings we watched TV, also part of a cultural continuum that reinforced the religious and social standards of the time. My relationship to the likes of Davy Crockett, Cheyenne, the Rifleman, Jim Bowie, Robin Hood, and Wild Bill Hickok, was that of young disciple to master. I hope that my life has been adequate to the example they set.

Rabbi Mayer Schiller teaches Bible and Talmud at Yeshiva University High School in New York.

Gayle Yiotis

I grew up in the heart of Washington, D.C., in the 1950s, which, when I was young, was still a rather sleepy, quiet, formal town. A couple of blocks from my church was President Eisenhower's church—I believe it was called St. Mary's—on the corner of 18th and N Streets. Years later, they razed that beautiful, historic church to erect a bland office building.

And it wasn't just buildings that were razed. As Bob Dylan sang, the times they were a-changing. Many of the old ways were demolished, and in their place was erected—confusion. The youth of the '60s revolted against standards of the '50s that seemed silly to them.

But most customs develop for a reason. Certainly not all rules are rational, but those that do survive contain much sound wisdom.

One Sunday, I was walking home from my church and President Eisenhower was still in his church; his limousine awaited outside. I was dressed in a pink dress with my white socks and black patent leather shoes (honest!). That day my hat, gloves, and purse were a matching pink. (Even a very young lady was not dressed without her gloves.) I decided to wait for a glimpse of President Eisenhower. A crowd had gathered, and I found myself having to stand in some shrubbery to get a view. Finally, the President exited and quickly retreated into his limo. Satisfied, I proceeded home to tell my mother. Her first reaction was to look aghast at my dirty white socks, but when she found out how it had happened she understood.

I was lucky that my parents and I lived with my grandparents. My grandmother had highly Victorian conventions. She believed that the evening meal was a time for family members to gather around the table and exchange tales of how their day went. The table was always properly set first: knives, forks, and spoons had their place as did everything else in her life.

One birthday my grandmother gave me an etiquette book, and I read it from cover to cover. About that same time my school's nuns brought in an etiquette teacher, and we girls went through a week of learning how to be ladies. It was not unusual for young ladies to learn how to go through a reception line, how to address different dignitaries, and how to engage in polite conversation. We learned how to sit (never, never cross your legs, but do cross your ankles). The right glove is removed when shaking hands. Never refer to anyone who is not a family member by his first name until given permission by him. (And even then, if it's a much older person, you would never call him by his first name.)

Relationships were simpler then. You knew where you stood in any situation because you knew what you could expect of someone and what was expected of you. If you had a date, you knew he would come to your home and ring the doorbell for you. He would escort you to the car, and you would wait for him to open the door and close it. And you knew he would get out first, come around, and open the door for you. Should he forget,

Gayle Yiotis is poised and dressed for city life in the early '60s (third from left).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

you would just sit there until he remembered. A date was just that, a date. It wasn't expected to end up in the man's apartment. If he got a goodnight peck on your doorstep, he clicked his heels and considered himself lucky.

A few days ago I heard of some local public schools starting a uniform policy like my Catholic school had. Someone finally realized there is method to the madness of uniform wearing. Surprisingly, students interviewed in one of the schools said they didn't mind the uniforms. A couple said they even liked them because they didn't have to spend a lot of time deciding what to wear. The teachers liked the policy because the students appeared calmer and more orderly and were able to concentrate better. There is reason behind rules.

Gayle Yiotis is on the research staff of the Smithsonian Institution.

Pat Buchanan

For 20 years during the 1950s and 1960s, the Connecticut Avenue Hot Shoppes was the Friday night oasis of northwest Washington, D.C. It was Mecca, drawing pilgrims from the neighborhood's four corners. Like an endless Indian rain dance around a bonfire, cars circled the place for hours on Friday and Saturday night. If a carload of girls drove around three times and then parked, it was a signal they would be amenable to a visiting delegation. The cheerleader types, Catholic girls from Holy Cross, Protestant and Jewish girls from Wilson, in their size-too-small cashmere sweaters, would stride across that large parking lot, feigning ignorance of and indifference to whoever was observing from inside the cars, and swivel their way into the Hot Shoppes. "That brave vibration each way free," wrote the poet Herrick, "O how that glittering taketh me!"

Washington's finest from the Eighth Precinct would slip into the parade of circling cars, then, after one or two trips around to see if trouble were brewing, the "guns" would slip back out again. If five or six mates were in a single car, circling, they were probably open to trouble. When fistfights would break out, negotiations would be held and sometimes quick agreement reached to "go up to Hearst," the darkened school playground half a mile away. The winner usually returned.

One evening, Smitty, a brawny and thuggish type who had moved to Chevy Chase from Northeast, tried to block our entrance into an open parking slot. "The spot's reserved!" Smitty said, defiantly, blue eyes blazing, heavy arms folded, feet apart.

"Smitty, get out of the way," my brother Hank said, as he reversed his '49 Merc. Smitty didn't budge. So Hank pulled it into first gear and drove right at Smitty, and over his foot, as he scrambled to safety. As Smitty hopped around, cursing, Hank looked up from the open window and said, "Little problem there with the corns, Smitty?" A bully, not quite as tough as he looked, Smitty hobbled off; next week he would he would be back, looking for smaller game.

Even though the Hot Shoppe real estate eventually became much too valuable for a fast-food restaurant, I was sorry to see Mr. Marriott let it go.

Adapted from Right from the Beginning *by Patrick Buchanan, published by Little, Brown.*

Walter E. Williams

North Philadelphia's Richard Allen housing project was home to my family during the late '40s and '50s. Just as today, the residents then were poor black people. That ends the similarities. During my youth, most adult residents worked. A few were on relief. Having been deserted by my father, we were on relief for a very brief period, but mostly my mother supported us as a domestic servant, cook, and occasional seamstress. Back then the Richard Allen project was home to mostly two-parent families. Our family was among the few exceptions.

Richard Allen was comparatively safe. Safe enough that on summer nights, some parents would allow their children to sleep outside. People hung their wash in common yards, taking them down after work, or their kids would do it after school. For most kids, Saturday morning ritual included chores like sweeping the family's section of the hallway, running errands, and doing other things that might earn the privilege of being treated to an afternoon matinee at the movies.

There were black gangs, but people who were not members, or somehow involved with the gangs, had little to fear. Gang fighting mostly involved fists, clubs, knives, and an occasional "zip gun." As I recall, a mean cop named Mr. Briggs was the only patrolman. Today, Richard Allen has its own police station.

During the '40s and '50s, North Philadelphia had a fairly robust economic base. Within walking distance were several major shopping areas like Marshall Street, Ridge Avenue, Girard Avenue, Poplar Street, and more, providing not only numerous goods, often at bargain prices, but also jobs.

I was graduated from Benjamin Franklin High School in 1954. There was the occasional fist-fight, but no guns. A student wouldn't even think of cursing within earshot of a teacher. Today, teachers are routinely cursed, threatened, assaulted, even murdered. There were no guards patrolling the hallways of Benjamin Franklin, no bars on the windows, and no police cars outside. Graffiti was nowhere to be seen, except occasionally in a toilet stall. At that time Benjamin Franklin had just about the city's lowest high school academic rating, but all the students could read and fill out a job application form. If yesteryear's Benjamin Franklin were brought into 1996, I am sure it would be among Philadelphia's top schools in academic achievement.

Philadelphia had plenty of racial discrimination in those days. Blacks had far fewer opportunities for upward mobility. There were cross-burnings when black families started moving into certain white neighborhoods like Overbrook and Nicetown. There was overt, condoned discrimination such as Dick Clark's

Washington's finest from the Eighth Precinct would slip into

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Walter Williams and sister Katherine, July 1953.

"Bandstand" not admitting blacks. By custom, blacks were prohibited from using certain city pools. And there were many other places where blacks just knew they weren't welcomed, such as the Latin Casino and restaurants in the nice hotels. A train ride to Atlantic City meant segregated cars.

Everybody knows there was racial discrimination back then as well as now, but few raise an important question: How come black neighborhoods were safer, illegitimacy rates much lower, families more stable (as early as the 1870s, three-quarters of Philadelphia's black children lived in two-parent families, just like native-born American whites), and welfare dependency far less common—all at a time when there was much greater racial discrimination, fewer opportunities, and blacks were not even a century out of slavery?

The big difference between today and yesterday can be summed up as a decline in civility: lack of respect for the person and property of others, and an acceptance of self-destructive behavior.

Walter Williams, chairman of the economics department at George Mason University, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Ed Koch

In the 1930s, I was a school-age child. We lived in the Bronx at 1660 Crotona Park East at 173rd Street. Across the street was Crotona Park with its playgrounds and rocky hillocks in which we children played. At the time, they seemed like the biggest mountains in the world. I played doctor there with a little girl named Doris who lived nearby.

The neighborhood was all Jewish. Indeed, I thought the whole world was Jewish, except for the superintendent of the building. In those days he was called a janitor, and he was Eastern European, probably Polish. He also served as the Shabbas Goy who performed tasks not permissible for the Orthodox Jews on the Sabbath, such as switching the lights on. Everyone loved the janitor.

My Uncle Max lived in the next building with his family. I remember watching him make liquor in his bathtub during Prohibition. He was my favorite uncle. We were in awe of him because he had a gun. I don't know if it was licensed or not, but I do know that it came in handy when my father and his brother, Bernie, who had a fur-manufacturing business, were trashed and my father was threatened by the Communist furmakers' union led by Harry Gold. My uncle had to escort them home every night.

For me, the biggest thrill was when my mother took me to New York on Saturday (we were not religiously observant). "New York" meant Manhattan. Going to the movies—in particular the Mayfair and the Roxy—was heaven.

Every week, my father would go down to the lower East Side and take me with him. He went to see his mother, Chaitze, who lived on an upper floor of a tenement at the corner of Broome and Ludlow Streets. She was very old and very heavy and couldn't leave her apartment, except to use the common bathroom situated in the hall.

He went there as the dutiful son to help her take her weekly bath. The tub was in the kitchen. He helped her into the tub. She was modestly covered, as I remember, in a white shift which she kept on during the entire ritual. My father soaped her through the shift and then helped her dry herself. That, too, was done so modestly that her body was never visible to this grandson or her own son.

When she was dressed, she rewarded me with rendered chicken fat called grebenes. I can still remember the fragrance and the taste. It was better than Godiva chocolate today. But nowadays, no 72-year-old man—which I will be this December—would dare treat himself to such a cholesterol-laden delicacy.

Ah, for the good old days. If only our values had remained while our creature comforts became technologically better.

Ed Koch was mayor of New York City from 1978 to 1989.

Ed Koch, age 14, and his sister.

Hadley Arkes

In 1944, my parents decided to make a momentous move: They would leave the large apartment that we shared in wartime Chicago with my grandparents, and several aunts and uncles. For the first time they would have an apartment of their own. They would move then…around the corner and half-way down the block, on Potomac Avenue. The next year, they

the parade of circling cars.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would move one block further down the same street. And that is when I encountered Lennie Kaplan. Today, he is settled in as a senior vice president in a major corporation in Houston. He was notably less established that day I first saw him, when we were both five years old. From then on into our teenage years, he was a presence I could count on as we moved together in that vast, familiar terrain set before us in the neighborhood of Humboldt Park.

The terrain, as I say, was familiar, because my parents had grown up on these same streets. My aunts and uncles had gone to my grammar school, the Lowell School, and they daily met on the street the people they had known since childhood. The neighborhood was filled with catchers-in-the-rye, with many people casting a watchful eye on the antics and the wanderings of children. It seemed to us, as youngsters, that we had a large field for roaming, and yet we had the sense that we were moving in a landscape in which we were instantly recognized and placed. "Levin's *ainekel,*" they would say of me, Levin's grandson.

In those years, when our ages were still in single digits, a world quite as large as we had the time or the wit to manage was amply contained in that perimeter marked off by the Grand Theater on North Avenue, and Itskowitz's Delicatessen on Division Street. Still, we apparently felt the need, by the age of 9, to go on an embassy to a larger, more exotic world—which is to say, downtown Chicago. We had been there, of course, with our parents, to the museums and theaters. With its grander buildings and its elegant department stores, with its air of things moving to a higher pitch of importance, it was evident even to a child—or it was evident especially to a child—that this was life in a notably different register. Years later, when our vocabularies caught up with our memories, it became clearer to us that our parents had really been showing us that we had been born, as citizens, into a formidable city. Walking up the grand staircase at the Chicago Theater, I imagined that I was attending a diplomatic reception of the kind I had seen on the screen.

But looking back now, the reflexes of our parents seem almost impossible to fathom. How could they have permitted Lennie and me, at the age of 9, to leave Humboldt Park and make our way downtown on our own? As city-bred kids, we already had a keen sense of the neighborhoods that were "rough," or even a bit dangerous. Evidently, downtown Chicago was not considered by our parents to be dangerous, in part because it seemed so strikingly a *civitas*, a place where people came to learn the lessons of civility. Of course this was long before the Supreme Court concluded that it was altogether too illiberal, too inconsistent with the First Amendment, to expect people to restrain themselves, in their expression and demeanor, out of a respect for the sensibilities of others in a public place.

In retrospect, the confidence of our parents might seem staggering, but their judgment was not the least eccentric at the time. In that same year, my future wife, rather worldly at eight years old, was traveling downtown by herself to her ballet lessons on Michigan Avenue. No, we didn't make it up; life really was that way.

In our childish credulity, we thought that a grand city had been set before us. As we became older, we rather suspected that our estimates here were borne of our own inexperience. But as we became even older, we discovered that the impressions we had formed as children were the right ones: A grand city had indeed been set before us. As youngsters we had read the lessons that the builders had meant to set before us in the most obvious way, in the grammar of architecture.

Even back in the neighborhood, the Boathouse in Humboldt Park shaped our sense of what we expected public buildings to look like. That charming Boathouse, I discovered in later years, was built by Schmidt, Garden, and Martin, the same firm that did the Montgomery Ward Warehouse and other important buildings in the city, both commercial and civic. We were never aware of being instructed in the rudiments of architecture, and yet, we could spot at once a tacky building; and it seems clear now that our sense of things had been formed through the simple device of placing before us the example of a building artfully done, with an unpretentious grace.

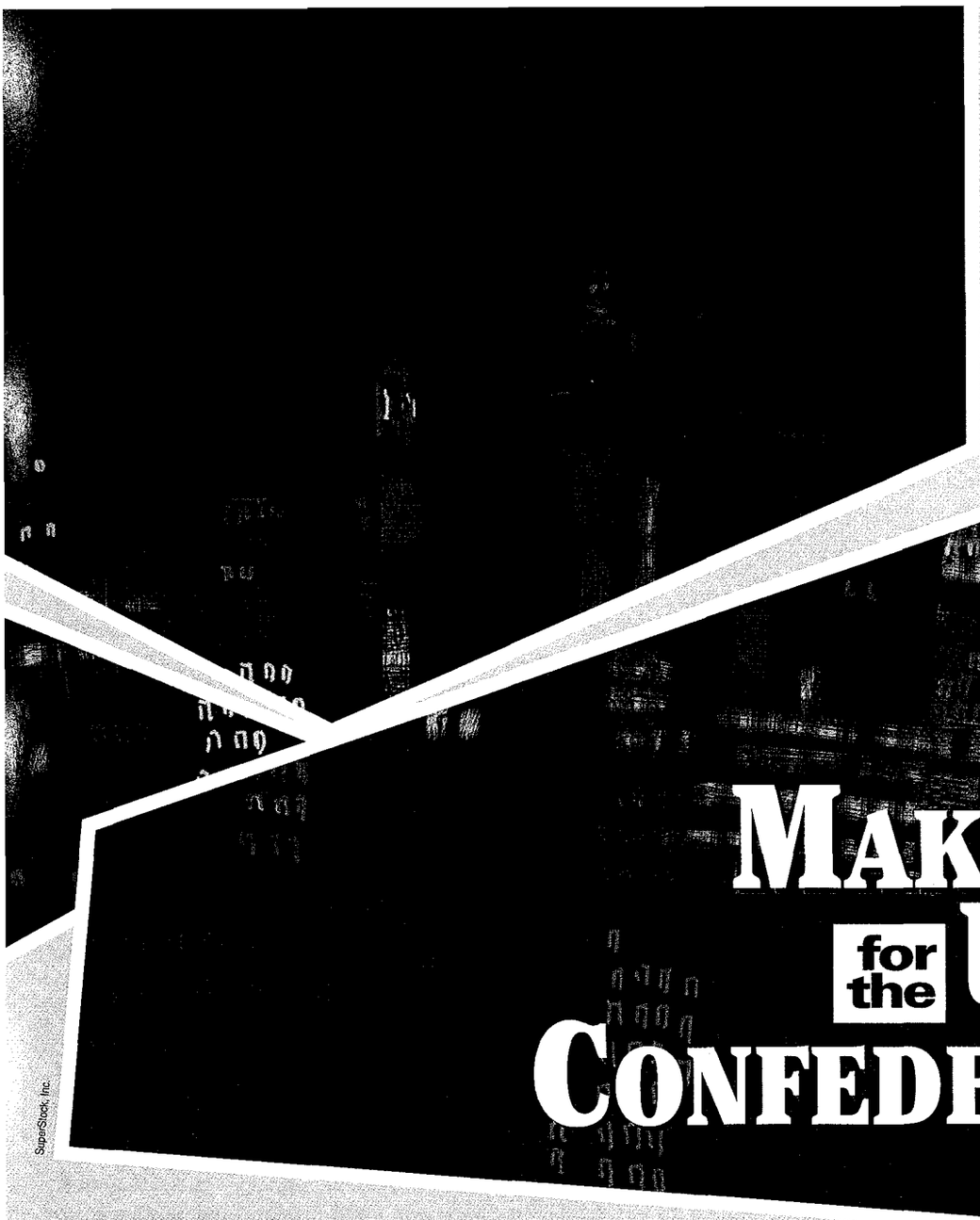
That Boathouse used to form the backdrop of our lives in all seasons. My father courted my mother by taking her rowing on the lagoon. In winters, when the lagoon froze, there would be skating. And in the summer evenings, the benches would be filled with grandparents, with meetings of the Workmen's Circle, or with people reading the Yiddish papers. There was an ongoing buzz of conversation, with children dashing about. It was, altogether, a subdued, joyous tumult.

We saw the Boathouse again two years ago on a summer's day, and it looked more than abandoned. It seemed to sit with a strange quietness, for there was no one about, no swirling conversation, no voices of children. The benches had been taken out, the bank of the lagoon had been fitted up as an artificial beach, and the lovely brick of the Boathouse had been stuccoed over with a yellow pastel, to suggest a more tropical or Spanish setting. The gardens, where lovers walked, had fallen into neglect. The thick bushes and foliage at the entrance to the park, on Kedzie Avenue, had all been levelled. Too many rapes and assaults, and without the bushes the police could take in the scene in a sweep of surveillance. When my wife told my sister that we had gone to the old Boathouse, she admonished us severely never to do that again: There had been too many drive-by shootings, even of strangers.

Somewhat later we were in the garden of friends in a gentrified section of Lakeview, on the near North side, and I wondered aloud: Why couldn't Humboldt Park come back in the same way that Lakeview has? The handsome apartment buildings adjoining the park could be built anew, the park could be planted again—the money could be found, it was all within reach. But my wife quickly put things back in scale: "That may be, but even if the neighborhood came back, it wouldn't have 1940s people in it." And she was right, of course. The catchers-in-the-rye would be gone, along with the kibitzers, the con men, and the pious, none of them swollen with the freight of their rights. To take a line from Henry James, they had about as many rights as they had time for. Most of them were more likely to spend their days worried that they weren't quite living up to what was expected of them. For that reason, perhaps, they were measured to more human dimensions, to motives that were intelligible. And they were moved by a sense of propriety they thought was plain enough to people like themselves. Those 1940's people *are* mainly gone, but gone too are the laws, and the ethic, that sustained them.

Hadley Arkes, the Ney Professor of Jurisprudence at Amherst College, is the author of The Return of George Sutherland.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



SuperStock, Inc.

By Joel Kotkin

Make Way for the Urban Confederates

Bob Scott makes an unlikely secessionist. A well-connected 50-year-old business lawyer in Los Angeles's San Fernando Valley, Scott should be feeling his political oats, having helped elect his fellow Republican, Richard Riordan, to the mayoralty just three years ago.

Yet increasingly, like many longtime residents of the Valley, Scott believes that the only real hope for his community may be to detach themselves forever from the gargantuan city that lies south of the Santa Monica Mountains. "I think the mayor's having a hard time selling Los Angeles anymore to the Valley," Scott said over a corned beef sandwich at Jerry's Deli in Studio City. "He said he could turn L.A. around, but he clearly doesn't have the tools."

Scott is quick to mention that he still supports the mayor, both as a Republican and as the mayor's appointee to the powerful Planning Commission. But he views the mayor as all but helpless in trying to streamline the city government, which remains firmly in the control of the left-leaning City Council.

Rather than face further frustration in Los Angeles politics, Scott and much of the rest of San Fernando's business and political leadership have embraced a more radical notion: break the heavily suburbanized Valley off from Los Angeles to form a new independent city, creating in the process a powerful new metropolis of 1.3 million people that would rank as the nation's sixth largest city.

Economics drives the logic of secession. With its relatively well-educated population and strong economic base in everything from entertainment to aerospace, the new city would likely enjoy rapid growth. For while Los Angeles is suffering from a tepid economy, nearly all of the other cities surrounding it in Southern California are prospering.

"The structure of civic governance here is flawed and outdated," Scott believes. "It only perpetuates the Council fiefdoms and hurts the economy. If we were on our own, or at least had some kind of autonomy, that would make all the difference in the world."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To L.A.'s left-leaning academic, political, and media establishment, Robert Scott's drive for secession is a dangerous quest. It has raised the ire of the city's mighty public employee unions and their traditional allies in the civil rights establishment, who fear that a reduced Los Angeles tax base would erode their vast power base. This summer these forces won the support of State Senate Democratic leader Bill Lockyer, who represents a San Francisco-area district almost 400 miles to the north, to help kill a plebiscite on secession. Predictably, Lockyer compared the new urban confederates to nineteenth-century slave-state partisans like Senator John C. Calhoun, while linking secession opponents to Abraham Lincoln. "My God," wrote Lockyer in a guest editorial for the *Daily News*, the Valley's largely pro-secession newspaper, "we fought the Civil War about this very issue!"

But this, of course, is not how the Valley secessionists see themselves. The area is better known for its foxy language-bending mallrats than for maintaining human chattel. And contrary to conventional wisdom, the Valley is neither particularly Anglo-Saxon or even conservative. Over 40 percent of its total population is minority, predominately Latino and Asian, and heavily Democratic Jews constitute its single largest white ethnic group. "We're about as integrated a place as you get," claims Bob Scott.

The Valley secessionists are not white separatists but rather quintessential middle-American rebels, battling a vast bureaucracy that is often insensitive to their interests. Valley residents, for example, pay roughly 40 percent of Los Angeles's taxes but get back only about half that amount in city services. The difference, they believe, is swallowed up by the monstrous downtown bureaucracy, or poured into grandiose central city redevelopment efforts.

The San Fernando Valley secessionists are hardly alone in their quest. Similar moves are afoot in working-class communities like Lomita and Carson to secede from the notoriously incompetent Los Angeles United School District, which oversees 600,000 students—more than the entire population of five states. On the state level a serious movement exists seeking to divide the state of California itself into three smaller pieces. And this is more than some nutty California fad. Regional secession movements even exist in calm states like Kansas. Residents of staid, middle-class Staten Island have long been pressing to leave the confines of ultra-liberal New York City. Residents of Queens, New York's largest borough, now also have their own fledgling secessionist movement, and even Manhattanites, who, like the Valley people, claim to be getting a bad deal in their city budget, have talked for over 30 years about severing themselves from the other boroughs.

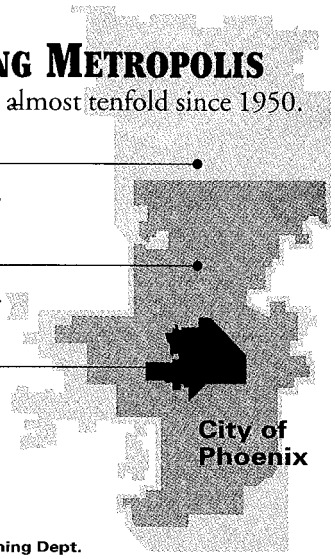
And not just high-income areas find themselves attracted to the urban confederacy movement. For the better part of a decade low-income African-Americans in Boston have been petitioning to secede and form their own black-dominated city in Roxbury. Like their cousins in Staten Island or the Valley they complain about being ignored by a government captured by the most powerful interest groups and squeakiest wheels. Secessionism and other measures that would give greater autonomy to city neighborhoods are ideas with broad ideological appeal. In Los Angeles, nearly every politician elected at least partially with Valley votes has supported the general right of city or school district secession. This list includes not only Republicans like Scott and Assemblywoman Paula Boland (who sponsored the bill defeated by Lockyer's Senate machinations), but also liberals such as Democratic State Senator Herschel Rosenthal and State Senator Tom Hayden, formerly of Jane Fonda and Chicago Seven fame.

Hayden, who is considering a run against Riordan for mayor next spring, sees no contradiction between supporting both self-determination for the Valley and liberal, even left-wing politics. In fact, Hayden plans to run on a platform of devolutionism—essentially handing most powers to local neighborhoods—that goes well beyond secession. His plan calls for transferring much civic power from the City Hall insiders and bureaucrats to a system of "neighborhood governance" that would allow strong local influence over issues like economic development, zoning, and traffic. Sounding more like an eighteenth- rather than twentieth-century radical, Hayden insists: "Great cities are not built on powerless taxpayers."

Those who argue for preserving current urban structures scorn any attempt—whether radical or conservative—to break the centralized pattern of big-city governance. Yet increasingly compelling evidence reveals that smaller cities,

the EXPANDING METROPOLIS

Phoenix has sprawled almost tenfold since 1950.



Source: City of Phoenix Planning Dept.

The trend in many places has been for cities to incorporate their surrounding suburbs, creating mega-jurisdictions without local identity and administrative nimbleness. This is a bad idea.

Instead, cities ought to be breaking themselves into smaller political units that enjoy a degree of social consensus, where governing can be done flexibly and with less impersonality.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

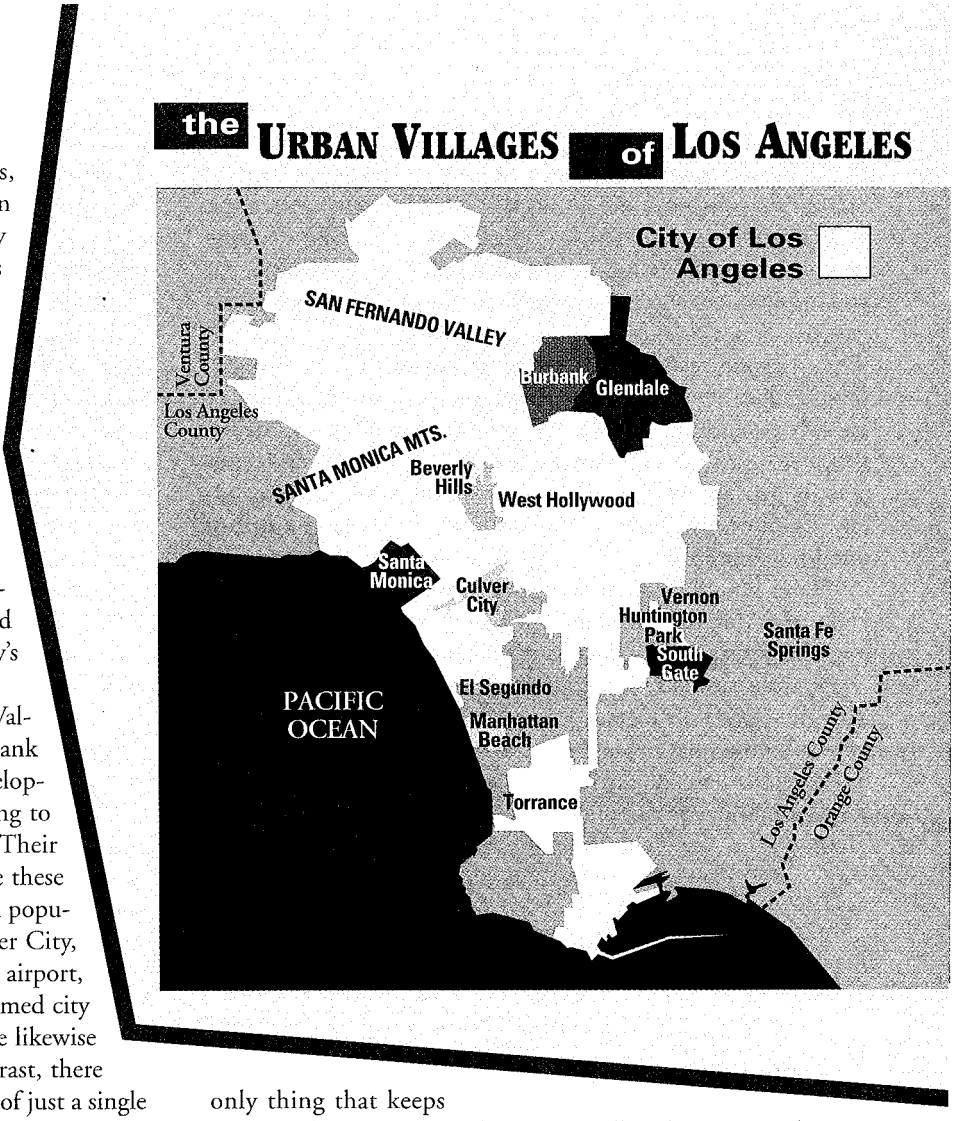
particularly those with a strong civic consensus, function far more successfully than their leviathan cousins. The blight now afflicting many cities may be less a result of social or economic inevitabilities than of bad governance. Consider, for example, how smaller cities in sprawling Los Angeles County, possessed of demographic and physical characteristics little different from L.A. (indeed, some like Burbank and Culver City are actually free-standing cells completely surrounded by the city of Los Angeles), function far more successfully than their big neighbor. They have flourished by tailoring their policies to meet the needs of local businesses and residents. These "urban villages" offer employers access to Los Angeles's talent pool and infrastructure without being subjected to the city's miserable governance.

These successful mini-cities are models for Valley secessionists. "Look what's happening in Burbank and Glendale," Bob Scott explains. "They are developing industries, getting businesses. Everyone's trying to get in there while the Valley is not on the map." Their nimble size and strong sense of civic identity give these places advantages over bigger cities. Burbank has a population of 90,000, Glendale about 193,000. Culver City, another successful small city located near the L.A. airport, as well as thriving West Hollywood, a recently-formed city located between Hollywood and Beverly Hills, are likewise urban villages of under 40,000 residents. In contrast, there are more than 235,000 constituents in the district of just a single L.A. City Councilmember.

The nimbleness of these smaller cities has allowed them to climb out of the deep recession that swept Southern California in the early 1990s, and now thrive. The recession dealt devastating blows to aerospace-oriented economies in both Culver City and Burbank (which saw its largest employer, Lockheed Martin, lose over 12,000 jobs). But unlike Los Angeles, which made no adjustments in its economic policies to adapt to the economic changes, the smaller cities quickly revamped.

The unemployment rate in Burbank is now much lower than in its big next-door neighbor. Office vacancies in the Burbank-Glendale area are a third lower than in the nearby L.A. downtown. Retail sales in the smaller cities have been rising nearly twice as fast as in the bordering parts of L.A. And while major corporations have been fleeing Los Angeles, the smaller towns are enjoying massive expansions from such established firms as Time Warner, Disney, and NBC.

The yawning differences in performance in these immediate neighbors, most local economists and business leaders agree, stem from almost diametrically opposed responses to the recession. When city deficits mounted in L.A., the city council raised city taxes and fees. The smaller cities, in contrast, responded by slashing fees to provide businesses with incentives to expand, while putting a lid on city spending. They cut regulatory hurdles while their giant neighbor maintained the status quo at the behest of the all-powerful public employee unions. The only thing that keeps Los Angeles attractive to business at all is that many other big cities like New York—with a rate of per-capita public spending 50 percent higher than L.A.'s—are even more union-dominated and unaffordable.



"It's totally out of control," admits Gary Mendoza, Los Angeles deputy mayor for economic development. "I don't mind the public employees having a seat at the table. But in L.A., they own the table." The city maintains its own bureaucracy for such things as inspecting elevators, functions contracted out to the state or private firms in virtually every other California city. Generous labor contracts and often-incompetent management produce high costs.

As a result, notes consultant Larry Kosmont, Los Angeles has become addicted to a level of business taxation completely out of sync with other locations in Southern California. "The reason business license fees and building fees are so high is that you're supporting a big family," notes Kosmont, former director of community development in Burbank and City Manager of Bell Gardens, a working-class suburb south of downtown L.A. "That leads a lot of companies to reject moving in because the fees will kill them."

Kosmont's studies reveal that the difference between setting up a business in Los Angeles versus one of the adjacent smaller cities is almost unfathomable. Although closer to downtown Los Angeles than many parts of the city, Burbank, for example, charges developers of office space a maximum of $6.38 per square

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

foot—less than half the cost in Los Angeles. For the average 30,000-square-foot business, fees in Burbank average around $12,000, compared to $116,000 in Los Angeles. One electrical equipment manufacturer in Burbank pays the city $8,980 per year, while a Los Angeles-based counterpart pays $23,860.

Beyond economics, L.A.'s urban villages offer greater freedom and flexibility. Receiving permits for a new or expanding business, for instance, is quicker and easier. Burbank-based John Bidasio, founder of fast-growing entertainment house Westwind Media, says he wouldn't consider expanding anywhere outside the city. "In Burbank you have a sort of small-town atmosphere," suggests Bidasio, who is adding new studios in an old Burbank industrial district. "I can go to City Hall, park for free, and talk to who I want to—and get a response. I can't imagine that happening in the City of L.A."

Even the most determined Los Angeles firms find negotiating with the city's bureaucracy a regulatory nightmare. Although Mayor Riordan has instituted some improvements, bottlenecks still regularly hold up expansions and new businesses. The new Magic Johnson Theatres in L.A.'s Crenshaw district, for instance, suffered a several-month delay in opening because it could not gain approval for its popcorn popper. "The criteria they use to regulate businesses are essentially antiquated," says company president Ken Lombard.

Even as the rush of businesses to the smaller cities of Los Angeles County has pushed rents comparatively high, firms keep coming for other reasons. For one thing, crime rates in Burbank, Glendale, and Culver City are less than half those in neighboring Los Angeles. There is also the positive lure of strong private amenities. The flourishing small downtowns are now packed with movie theaters, restaurants, and services. Long ridiculed (as in Johnny Carson's "beautiful downtown Burbank") for its middle-class dowdiness, Burbank is now hopping with attractive life. "We even see the ponytail set around here," jokes one city official over a cappuccino at Starbucks. Similar restorations have also transformed the once-run-down central districts of Culver City, West Hollywood, and Glendale.

Of course, L.A.'s left-wing council majority sees no need to change the political status quo. Councilwoman Jackie Goldberg, the driving intellectual force on the council's left, scoffs at the suggestion that the city's politics is to blame for its weak economic performance. She dismisses the successes of smaller cities like Burbank or Glendale as a product of unfair demographic forces. "These small cities can succeed," she insists, "because they don't have to deal with the populations we have to deal with. They don't get stuck with all garbage that we have."

Power to the Neighborhoods, 1969

"Power to the Neighborhoods!" was the rallying cry of the Founding Father of modern municipal devolution, the pugnacious novelist Norman Mailer.

Mailer propounded his plan to virtually abolish the government of New York City and transfer its functions to self-governing neighborhoods during his raucous 1969 campaign for the Democratic nomination for mayor. The candidate called himself "a left conservative." He acknowledged that "the Left has been absolutely right on some critical problems of our times, and the conservatives have been altogether correct about one enormous matter—which is that the federal government has no business whatever in local affairs."

Why, the novelist wondered, did the skies over New York seem so grey and oppressive? Before the Second World War the city had been a welter "of local neighborhoods and personalities," vital and vivid, yet postwar New York was dying under a "large dull impersonal style of life which deadens us with its architecture, its highways, its abstract welfare, and its bureaucratic reflex to look for government solutions which come into the city from without (and do not work)."

Mailer's first order of business was statehood for the city, a demand which Upstaters cheerfully seconded. Come independence day, the bustling and confident old Gotham would be reborn. "In the new city-state," Mailer explained in "An Instrument for the City"—one of the classic decentralist statements of our century—"every opportunity would be offered to neighborhoods to vote to become townships, villages, hamlets, sub-boroughs, tracts, or small cities.... Many of these neighborhoods would manage their own municipal services, their police, sanitation, fire protection, education, parks.... They would be able to hire their own people for their own neighborhood jobs and services."

In Mailer's city, "any neighborhood could constitute itself on any principle, whether spiritual, emotional, economical, ideological, or idealistic." He envisioned "a spectrum which might run from Compulsory Free Love to Mandatory Attendance in Church on Sunday!" He welcomed an authentic diversity of blood and custom, boasting that "I am running on everything from Black Power to Irish Self-Righteousness."

Mailer's effort was one of the most substantial, intelligently provocative political campaigns of our age. His free-swinging speeches obscured his essential seriousness, however, and the media dismissed his candidacy as a frivolous caper by a self-advertising celebrity. He got just over five percent of the vote in the Democratic primary. Come November, New York City got four more years of the limousine liberalism of John Lindsay.

—*BK*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although Los Angeles does include many of the county's poor neighborhoods, the fast-growing smaller cities are hardly lily-white bastions of old money. The industrial jobs leaving Los Angeles are not going to Beverly Hills but to working-class, predominately Latino communities. Business investment is rising dramatically in Latino cities like Huntington Park, Southgate, Santa Fe Springs, and Vernon. Even Glendale, Burbank, West Hollywood, and Culver City—now hot locations for film and multimedia firms—can hardly credit their success to yuppie populations. Nearly 45 percent of Glendale's population, for example, is foreign born, mostly Asians, Armenians, and Latinos. Culver City is similar. West Hollywood, although predominately white, is hardly Middle America—up to a third of its population is gay, while a similiar percentage are Russian immigrants.

What gives these smaller cities their advantages is scale. With stronger community participation and shorter feedback loops, it seems easier not only to reach a consensus, but equally important, to change direction quickly when necessary.

West Hollywood was founded 12 years ago, largely by gay activists who wanted control over the two square miles of unincorporated area. "When the city started, there was a strong desire to control land use and put obstacles in front of businesses," recalls former city manager Paul Brotzman. But then "the community began to realize that most of its discretionary revenue came from business—sales taxes, parking fees, hotel tax, property tax. So suddenly we started to say to the business community, 'we want you, we want to keep you.'" The upshot is that today, West Hollywood has reclaimed its reputation as the safest and most attractive entertainment district in Southern California. And with increased revenues overflowing from its tourism businesses, the liberal city has chosen to fund a plethora of social services.

A similar effort to ease the conduct of private business has transformed more conservative Culver City, once a run-down aerospace town. Faced with the loss of its manufacturing base, the predominately blue-collar town streamlined its regulatory procedures and began working closely with key local employers such as Sony Pictures. Today it has a restored downtown and a thriving community of entertainment, multimedia, and specialty manufacturing firms. "We were able to do these things because we are a small community," says Mark Winogrond, Culver City's director of community development. "You have to decentralize decision-making down to the local level so the decisions make sense for the people who live there. In a small town you can service all your customers. In places like L.A., you call 911 and you get a busy signal."

The comparative fortunes of these smaller cities and the big city of Los Angeles is telling evidence of the benefits of devolving political power to a more local level than most current city boundaries allow. Bob Scott's dream of San Fernando Valley secession may thus only be a partial solution, since the new entity would itself still be enormous in physical size and population. But at least he and other advocates of localism ranging from right-wing Republicans on Staten Island to old radicals like Tom Hayden are moving in the right direction.

"We have got to get away from the idea that the people downtown know best," Scott argues. "We want to control our own destiny because we think we know what our best interests are. We don't want to waste our time trying to persuade people downtown about how to spend our own tax dollars." This spirit of self-government may be today's very best hope for healing the nation's festering urban sore.

Joel Kotkin is the John M. Olin Fellow in Urban Studies at the Pepperdine Institute for Public Policy in Malibu, California.

Whipping Up Neighborhood Loyalty

Talk about localizing government. Alan Ehrenhalt notes in the August 1996 issue of *Governing* that the 60,000 people of Siena, Italy, "are divided into 17 neighborhoods." And each of these, he reports, has "its own flag, seat of government, museum, constitution, and precise boundaries."

How does this work out in daily life? Well, twice each summer these neighborhoods sponsor horses and jockeys to represent them in the Palio, a sometimes violent race that obsesses the northern Italian city. In one running of the Palio this summer, four of the ten jockeys were knocked off their mounts and taken to a hospital. Jockeys are known to whip their adversaries, so intense is the neighborhood competition.

An unacceptably barbaric affair, then? Ehrenhalt suggests otherwise. "For much of this century, Siena has had the lowest crime rate of any city in Italy," he reports. "On measures of crime committed by teenagers, it scarcely registers at all." Inhabitants of Siena understand that the brutal race allows people to channel their aggressiveness and hostility into a formal institution—and in doing so, to heighten their neighborhood loyalty and curtail the temptation toward random violence that undermines so many modern cities.

"The lesson," says Ehrenhalt, "is that you can build a stable community, even a peaceful one, around negative loyalties as well as positive ones, around rivalry as well as pride." In an observation that will greatly annoy those who think that a good society must be built on a bland and undifferentiated universal affection, Ehrenhalt concludes: "Tribalism is a fact of human life. The most productive response isn't to denounce it. It's to harness it to the public good."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

how about

Private Local Governments

Short of breaking a given city into smaller, autonomous political units there is a partial mechanism for improving the localism of city administration.

Over the last decade some cities have witnessed the birth of so-called "Business Improvement Districts"—or BIDs. These allow the merchants in a given area to assume direct responsibility for many public services. Essentially, this amounts to letting small portions of a city be partly administered by a private government (a thought which has panicked some left-wing activists into opposing BIDs).

Even though BIDs have very modest powers, these private administrative bodies have shown a dramatic ability to rejuvenate urban areas, as the article excerpted below demonstrates.

In 1983, the management of Mobil Oil Corporation produced a videotape that would change the face of midtown Manhattan. Having resolved to abandon the company's headquarters on East 42nd Street in favor of an office park in Fairfax, Virginia, Mobil's leaders decided to show the city why the company was leaving. Exhibit A: the videotape.

Filmed in and around Grand Central Terminal, directly across from Mobil's headquarters, the short, un-narrated tape reveals a city that has lost control of its public spaces. Cigarette butts decompose in pools of urine outside the terminal; newspaper cyclones swirl wildly down the street; illegal vendors hawk cheap toys from overturned cardboard boxes; crumpled men lie hopelessly on the sidewalk; legions of commuters try unsuccessfully to open terminal doors mysteriously tied shut with twine. The tape then flashes to the pastoral suburban headquarters of Exxon and Bell Labs. Finally, a question appears: "What do we tell our employees?"

The tape got the city's attention. In response, aides to Mayor Koch convened a meeting of midtown business leaders in 1984 to discuss how to clean up the Grand Central area. Improvement was imperative. The terminal and its surroundings provided the first glimpse of New York to thousands of visitors and commuters daily—and what they saw was the largest homeless encampment in the city, hustlers flocking upon tourists and demanding payment for flagging down a taxi, graffiti splattered across stores, filthy sidewalks, and broken streetlights.

In an implicit admission of governmental defeat, the city implored midtown business leaders to craft a remedy. They responded by organizing a business improvement district, or BID—a special taxing district that would raise additional revenue for cleaning, patrolling, and improving the district's streets and providing services to the homeless. Today the squalor around Grand Central is just a bad memory. The BID—officially called the Grand Central Partnership—put an army of cleaners to work scouring the sidewalks and removing graffiti within 24 hours of its appearance. The BID's security patrol has produced a 60 percent drop in crime. Taxi dispatchers today operate orderly queues outside the station; and new lampposts, planters, and trash receptacles, paid for by the BID, are sprouting up across the district....

BIDs have emerged as one of the most important developments in urban governance over the past two decades. They have created a mechanism for harnessing private-sector creativity to solve public problems, and their success has sharply highlighted the failures of city government. Today, some 1,000 BIDs operate in the U.S.—in big cities like Houston and Philadelphia as well as in small ones, in rich neighborhoods as well as in poor. Increasing in number monthly, BIDs are trailblazers in solving such urban quality-of-life problems as aggressive panhandling, graffiti, and vandalism.

Little wonder that they've also generated controversy. Critics charge that the additional tax burden they impose on business will prove fatal to business's long-term viability; that BIDs represent a dangerous concentration of private power in public spaces; and that they will further balkanize cities into wealthy and poor districts.

Yet the great advantage of BIDs lies in their private characteristics. Unlike government, BIDs possess finite goals, which they can accomplish free of civil service rules and bureaucratic procedures. More important, they negotiate labor contracts from a clean slate: Unbound by decades-old municipal labor deals, they can reward—and fire—employees according to their productivity, not their civil service status.

Bringing to public spaces the techniques of "common space management" that made malls and office parks so successful, BIDs would maintain security and cleanliness in the area and oversee group marketing and façade improvements.

Critics within the business community charge that BIDs impose a second tax on businesses for services they are already paying the city to provide. In the long run, these critics say, the double taxation, rather than the enhancement of services, will determine whether firms stay or leave....

But the BID assessments are tiny compared with the city's own tax burden. Real estate taxes in midtown Manhattan run between $6 to $14 a square foot compared with the Grand Central Partnership's assessment of 14 cents a square foot. BID assessments range from a few hundred dollars a year for small buildings to $500,000 for the Empire State Building. A sensible proposal floated in 1994 by deputy mayor John Dyson to allow at least part of BID assessments to be tax deductible would further defang the double-taxation argument....

But BID revenues don't only duplicate what city taxes are supposed to provide. Even the best-run city is unlikely to provide, as many of the larger BIDs do, continual sidewalk cleaning and graffiti removal for over 12 hours a day, peripatetic visitor guides, special events, and help with store upgrading. Many BIDs aim at a standard set not by the ideal city but by Walt Disney World or a premier shopping mall. And if midtown merchants want, say, floodlighting at Grand Central Terminal, they'd be politically naive to expect taxpayers in Jamaica, Queens, to pay for it....

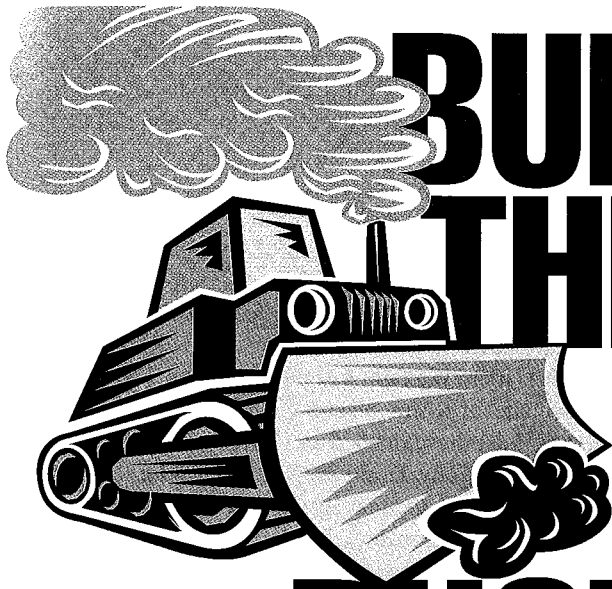
It's true that many BID activities are things the city should be doing. But what is the alternative? If all BIDs were to cease operations tomorrow, it is fanciful to think that cities would revamp their work rules, civil service policies, and spending priorities.

BIDs may also offer some lessons for the future. They suggest the advantages of giving smaller areas of the city more control over the raising and spending of the revenues. And they point further in the direction of privatizing city services....

Perhaps one day BIDs will not be necessary. But for now, as Dan Biederman says, they "provide the West Berlin to the city's East Berlin."

—*From "BIDs Really Work," by Heather MacDonald,* City Journal, *Spring 1996.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



BULLDOZE THE '60s & BOLSTER BUSINESSES

The New Formula for Urban Renewal

BY FRED SIEGEL

"The times they are a-changing." Two of the big city mayors featured prominently on the podium of the 1996 Democratic Convention, Detroit's Dennis Archer and Atlanta's Bill Campbell, were prominent supporters of the new federal "one strike and you're out" policy—which expels drug users from public housing projects for any criminal conviction.

Meanwhile, "in much of inner-city America, 1995 will be remembered as the year of demolition," writes Rob Gurwitt in *Governing*. No fewer than 32 public housing projects around the country were slated for total or partial demolition last year. And it is more than buildings that are being bulldozed. The whole intellectual apparatus erected in the 1960s to deal with urban issues is being dismantled as well.

"Cities," explained one official, "want to start over." If we could simply return our older cities to the conditions they enjoyed before Lyndon Johnson declared 1965 "The Year of the Cities," before *Newsweek* proclaimed John Lindsay "The Hero of the Cities," before the Watts riots utterly transformed the urban landscape, it would be considered an historic achievement.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For thirty years, our urban policies were based in large part on two assumptions. First, that white society was, as a reparation of sorts, required to give aid and assistance to the politically organized of the inner city on their own terms. In practice this usually meant that government funded both a continued concentration of poverty and a black separatist politics in minority neighborhoods.

This brought disastrous city regimes, led for instance by Coleman Young in Detroit, Richard Hatcher in Gary, and a variety of New Leftists in Hartford, that were kept afloat by federal social spending. Even under the best of circumstances, as in Atlanta, where both the region and the city boomed, federal funding did no good. "Not one majority black neighborhood that was poor in 1970 is measurably less poor in 1990," reports urban analyst David Rusk.

In the 1960s, the burden of guilt associated with poverty was transferred from underclass behaviors to middle class values. A whole industry sprang up to churn out social programs and government jobs designed to ameliorate the past effects of racism and capitalism. Helping professions like social work and psychiatry were thought to have the knowledge and wherewithal needed to make the wounded whole.

The whole intellectual apparatus erected in the 1960s to deal with urban issues is being dismantled.

In the face of massive failure there has been a radical reassessment of these assumptions. The judgment of the '60s has recently been reversing, with the burden of failure shifting back toward the underclass and their spokesmen. Today the social service industry is derided as "Poverty Inc.," a lucrative business for those who benefit by peddling pathology to a willing buyer in the federal government, but death for the cities and neighborhoods that experience its effects.

Rosemary Jackson of the dying city of Camden captures the new sentiment against social services:

> We meet every criteria for poverty, so we always received grants. All it did was create a social service organization bigger than any *Fortune* 500 company. The money never trickled down to the people. It just created a bureaucracy and allowed the party bosses to control the plantation.

What Hartford City Councilman Art Feltman rejects in "Poverty Inc." is its sense of pity toward the poor. "There's a paternalistic view in the social services community that the poor will always be poor," he continues, "and that if not for us do-gooders everyone is going to die. I think we have to have confidence that, given the right opportunity, people can do more for themselves and take on more responsibility."

"This city," proclaims Feltman, speaking for many older metropolises across the country, "now has a new philosophy: It's jobs, it's homes, it's opportunities."

For the moment, the most important new opportunities for inner-city employment and revitalization are in retailing. New York City Planning Commissioner Joe Rose reports that the Big Apple currently exports about $3.1 billion of retail activity a year because one-third of all households do major shopping outside the city. With the overbuilding of suburban malls, developers and retailers are increasingly turning toward untapped city markets. There is a new shopping center and movie complex on line for Newark, and in forlorn New Haven a bevy of developers are competing to build a million square feet of shopping in a city of only 124,000 people.

"We think Harlem is retailing's best kept secret," enthuses a Gap spokeswoman. In recent years Ben and Jerry's, Rite Aid, and Blockbuster Video have opened in Harlem, with the Gap on its way, and Disney, Sony, Home Depot, and Caldor looking for sites. Referring to both the managerial and entry-level positions these new outlets can provide, the Harlem manager of Ben and Jerry's sees the new stores as a shot at "our piece of the American dream."

The first plans for Harlem's share of new federal "empowerment zone" funds would have done little to further that dream. The money was directed almost entirely at subsidizing the usual array of politically connected social service organizations. Congressman Charles Rangel, one of the authors of the empowerment zone legislation and a man who has helped friends and colleagues misspend countless millions of dollars over the years, explained that "we cannot make an offer to business until the community has set the priorities." It was surely a sign of the times when this powerful congressman was finally forced to backtrack. Eventually, a private-sector-oriented administrator was hired to run the Harlem zone.

If cities are going to revive, they will need jobs created not only by retailing but by the niche manufacturers, who are increasingly important in supplying retailers. Local manufacturing for private labels can be a boon to department stores, which demand quick deliveries on new clothing lines. Similarly, in software, multi-media, jewelry, and baking, service businesses are generating backward linkages into manufacturing.

It would be a happy conjunction of forces if some of the workers in these new manufacturing jobs could come from the ranks of those scheduled to be moved off AFDC by the 1996 welfare reform bill. But that will be a difficult task. The qualities of rebelliousness so cultivated since the 1960s by the racial resentment industry, as well as real injustices, have made a significant number of welfare recipients nearly unemployable. Often, they have a hard time taking instruction, let alone supervision, seeing every suggestion as a barb.

The promise of the new welfare work requirements and the new emphasis on inner-city economic growth is that they offer a chance to reconnect the inner city to the mainstream economy and values. Ideally, they will plant the seeds of a new culture of work and personal responsibility in our cities. That, at least, is the best hope for our post-1960s urban communities.

Fred Siegel, a professor at The Cooper Union in New York City and a senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute, is completing a book on the failure of urban liberalism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What one thing could we do right now to improve the livability of our cities, towns, and suburbs?

Seeking some practical community-fixing reforms, we posed the question above to an interesting group of developers, scholars, planners, and journalists. Here are their ideas, edited to fit our space:

Illustrations by Ye Wah Siew

Bring Back Respectability

By Harvey Mansfield

Professor of government, Harvard University.

Picking up trash, removing graffiti, asking the beggars to move on—at first I had trouble deciding which of these activities (any one of which would be easy to carry out) would be my choice for making our communities more livable. Then it occurred to me that all three have to do with respectability, or keeping up appearances. So perhaps the first thing we need to do is to *think differently* about public decorum.

Trash, graffiti, and begging are all things we once refused to tolerate. They are not so much dangerous as offensive, and because of this, they don't get the attention we give to crime. But they are much like crime: They shock, they offend our sense of the way things ought to be, and in doing so they undermine our confidence that more grievous offenses will be dealt with effectively.

Why do we allow what we used to forbid? Because, I think, we have ceased to believe in the value of respectability. In the late 1960s, a notion very hostile to respectability, the notion that people can live lifestyles created by themselves and not dictated by others, grew up. It was said that people should abandon hypocrisy and live from the inside out, as though outside appearances were unimportant. A lifestyle based on self-expression was supposed to permit the individual to be honest to himself rather than be bound by others' expectations.

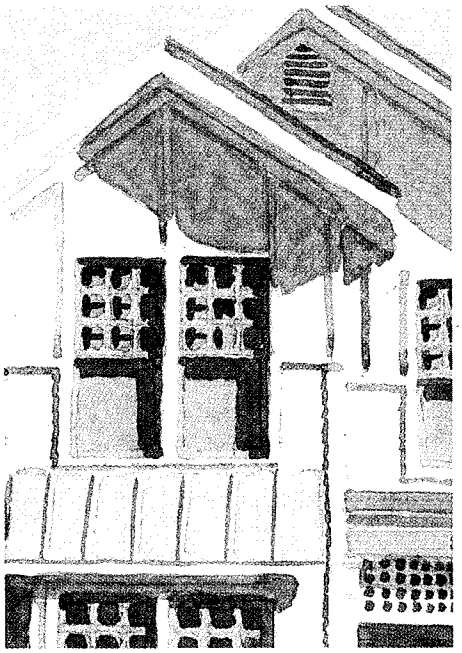
But not caring what others think is a license for obnoxious behavior. You litter or leave trash behind. As a graffiti "artist," you take possession of public spaces and leave your signature. As a beggar, you challenge and embarrass others.

Respectability, by contrast, emphasizes and upholds the dignity of the community. It means attending to exterior appearances so as to gain the respect of other people. It is an other-directed impulse, encouraging people to act more responsibly than they otherwise might. Public authorities (who will be stuck with the bulk of the cleaning up if there is a breakdown of interest in respectability) need to know that one of their jobs is to maintain the dignity of public life.

Trash, graffiti, and begging are evidence of a "bad neighborhood," a phrase we are now somewhat embarrassed to use, but which indicates a place where people do not feel the need to maintain appearances. Maintaining appearances does not require wealth—it only requires a desire for respectability, which even the poorest people can afford. This desire must be backed up by effort, but perhaps no more effort than the expression of disapproval for unwanted behavior.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Being respectable, then, is the same as being answerable to your friends and fellow citizens. What others think of you should not dictate your life. But neither should it be lightly dismissed. Indeed, it is wrong and undemocratic not to make the effort to gain our fellow citizens' respect. Offenders against respectability undermine the democratic principle that each person is competent to manage his own life. In embarrassing us, the trespassers against public appearances embarrass our democracy.



Privatize Inner-city Neighborhoods

By Robert H. Nelson
Professor, University of Maryland; author, Zoning and Property Rights *and* Public Lands and Private Rights.

We ought to make sure that the opportunity to exercise close control over one's immediate surroundings is available to the group that most needs this power today: the residents of inner cities.

Many Americans now enjoy increasing influence within their nearby communities. Consider that in 1960 there were fewer than 5,000 private homeowners' associations in the U.S., while at present there are 150,000. These give an estimated 32 million owner-residents a significant degree of influence over common property and services.

In recent years business groups within cities have also recognized the advantages of collective, private control over the immediate surrounding environment. They have pressed cities for the legal authority to form "business improvement districts." BIDs are approved or turned down by a vote of local property owners, and they have the authority to assess fees on those same owners to pay for private security patrols, street cleaning, parks, and other improvements. More than 1,000 such "BIDs" have been established across the United States in the past two decades.

By contrast, our troubled inner-city neighborhoods lack the private property institutions that have been critical to the success of other neighborhoods. People living there often do not have the political and economic sophistication to press for such measures, and liberal supporters are often hostile to any action that might be seen as "privatization" or an encouragement to "stratification."

Yet, if they were allowed to vote to establish private community associations to take control of their own inner-city neighborhoods, residents could provide security, regulate exterior modifications to property, install fencing, clean up yards, plant gardens, and make all manner of collective improvements. They could establish controls over access to the neighborhood to ensure that drug dealers and potential criminals are excluded (just as gated communities in the suburbs do at present). Private inner-city neighborhoods could contract competitively for trash collection, street cleaning, and other services, bypassing expensive and ineffective municipal bureaucracies.

The idea of one big government serving all residents of the city has failed. It is time to give inner-city neighborhoods the legal option to privatize their immediate environments. Neighborhood self-governance would lift the apathy of city dwellers who feel "there is nothing I can do about local problems." It would let residents accomplish what many suburbanites have long been doing for themselves. It would end urban decay—which big city governments have amply shown they cannot do.

Preserve Natural Communities

By David Popenoe
Dean of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University; author of The Suburban Environment.

Parents need three kinds of social support for rearing children: emotional support in the form of acceptance and concern from other adults, instrumental support such as information, advice, and help with routine tasks, and the reinforcement of moral expectations about what constitutes appropriate behavior. For children to develop a moral code, no aspect of support is more crucial than the local community's ability to reinforce the moral expectations of parents—to act on a *consensus of shared values.* Young people need to hear a consistent message about what is right and wrong from the important adults in their lives; they need not only a social community but also a moral community. In this particular sense, it *does* take a village to raise a child.

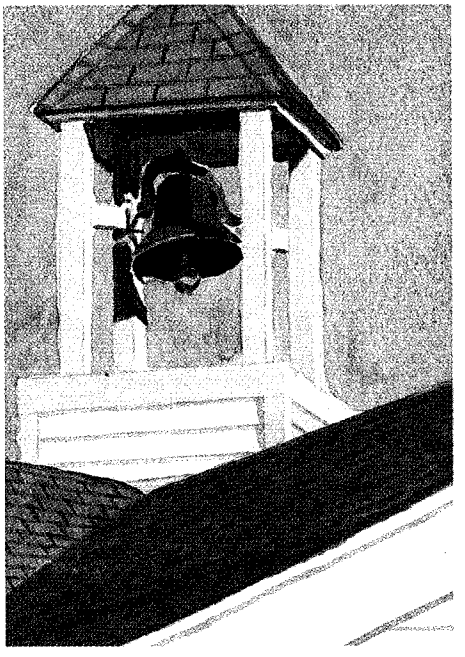
Yet all across America, moral communities with a consensus of shared values are disappearing. Parents today feel beleaguered. Their neighborhoods have become anonymous, their neighbors uninterested, while crime and personal security have become constant problems. Popular culture is an enemy, not a friend. Parents feel isolated and unappreciated, and find their task lonely and full of risk. How we deal with this problem of local community breakdown will, I believe, determine the nation's ability to persevere as a society with a measure of civic virtue.

As a first step, we should protect those natural, village-like communities that still remain—communities built on families who have chosen to associate together to maintain a common life. Social environments are every bit as fragile, and worth preserving, as natural environments, so the wishes and concerns of local cultural groupings should be sheltered from the intrusion of outside forces.

American liberals have long looked askance at homogeneous neighborhoods (with the exception of those in which they live) as somehow undemocratic. But people—especially families with children—strongly prefer to live next to others with whom

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they feel comfortable and can form close friendships, and there is good reason this should be allowed. As long as they are social and moral communities, homogeneous neighborhoods up to the size necessary to support a neighborhood school should be encouraged. I am not thinking here necessarily of racial and ethnic enclaves, but of family-focused enclaves of people who share similar values and have similar ways of life.



America is a highly diverse society, of course, and this diversity must be accommodated. American towns from the past provide a useful model. Most towns in this country were quite heterogeneous, at least in social class. Children grew up among their own kind in the neighborhood, under a local network of social control, but as they grew older and extended their activities beyond the neighborhood, they came into contact with dissimilar people. Thus, as children matured, they were introduced to increasing diversity, especially in high school and college. We should seek to maintain this community form—homogeneous neighborhoods in reasonably heterogeneous communities—wherever it still exists. And we should try to recapture it where it has, unfortunately, vanished.

Put Places First

By Alan Ehrenhalt

Editor of Governing *magazine and author of* The Lost City: Discovering the Forgotten Virtues of Community in the Chicago of the 1950s.

One small way to reverse community decline would be to return to the idea of tangible places as political constituencies, undoing the cartographic chaos that 30 years of one-person, one-vote fanaticism and redistricting have wrought. A congressman or a county commissioner ought to come from a place that can be named in two or three words, a place with boundaries that all the voters inside it understand—not a collection of squiggles on a map, unrelated to any known piece of ground. This would require us to let districts vary in population by 10 or 15 percent—in my opinion, a tiny price to pay for restoring coherence to America's political geography. When people understand that their elected representative comes from a real place and speaks for its interests, they are far more likely to pay attention.

Along with this, let us return unapologetically to the notion of neighborhood schools and start taking them seriously as an engine of community revival. If you live in a neighborhood, you should go to its school, and join the other children and families who live around you. No more busing for racial balance, for magnet schools, for anything except transportation.

If you say this flies in the face of most currently fashionable educational thought, you are right. If you say it precludes meaningful educational innovation, you are wrong. A teacher who wants to teach sixth grade in a neighborhood school using the training methods of ancient Sparta could do that; one who wants to recreate the Haight-Ashbury of 1967 could do that.

Of course, some of these neighborhood schools would be all black, and some would be all white. Some would have rich students, and some would have poor. The way to deal with this isn't to scatter children all over the horizon. It's to send more resources to the districts that need them.

If we took neighborhood schools seriously again, something very important could begin to happen. Parent-teacher associations could be reborn not only as an instrument of school policy but as a focus of neighborhood social and political life. A public school represents an unparalleled opportunity to generate local pride, creativity, and grassroots action. But for schools to lead a community revival, the families have to come from a tangible nearby place.

We have spent more than two decades dispersing children to distant and unfamiliar locales for the sake of risky experiments that have accomplished nothing. We might as well take a risk or two in the interest of restoring a meaningful neighborhood civic life that we know is achievable, because we once had it.

Restore Power to the Local Level

By Robert B. Hawkins, Jr.

President and CEO of the Institute for Contemporary Studies.

It's no wonder that citizens feel cynical and disconnected from their governing institutions. For over 50 years there has been a shift in government toward larger and more distant institutions, turning once-active citizens into passive people who consume services administered by bureaucracies. Reformers have promoted pan-regional government, and when citizens resisted it, the reformers entered through the back door with state and federal mandates on activities ranging from air and water quality to housing and transportation—thus steadily building the foundations for centralized government anyway.

One has merely to recall the local Community Chests, now consolidated into a massive United Way, to sense what has happened. No one seems to remember that in the 1920s 700,000 citizens governed the country's 124,000 independent school districts; today these have been reduced to 15,000 school districts that no one governs, that are no longer truly public, but converted instead into government agencies paralyzed by special-interest groups. We are fast depleting our most important political asset: local citizen-governors who have the skills to solve problems that are simply beyond the capacity of state and federal regulators.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reconstituting our local governing institutions will require liberals to give up their reflexive search for new uniform programs to solve problems, and will require Republicans to move away from their block-grant-goodies approach to decentralization. Washington and the state capitals must return real authority to citizens in the form of charter schools, tenant ownership and governance of public housing projects, and the like. Then we will start to realize the vast potential of talent that now lies latent, nearly smothered, in our metropolitan areas.

Limit the Size of Residential Lots

By William A. Fischel

Professor of economics, Dartmouth College.

The existence of a multitude of local governments—each competing for residents and businesses and thus motivated to please them by spending tax money wisely—has yielded many benefits. Localism's downside, however, has been that resident voters, predominantly homeowners, often impose unreasonable zoning restrictions on certain vulnerable property owners.

For instance, many suburbs limit developers to no more than one house per every three, five, or even ten acres, even where most of the existing community was built on lots measuring a quarter-acre or less. Such excessive zoning demands have caused America's metropolitan areas to spread too far, driving up housing, transportation, and infrastructure costs. They have lengthened commutes, and fragmented social and economic life.

To counteract this inefficient pattern, I propose that property owners should be protected from laws requiring a minimum lot size larger than half an acre. Towns, cities, or counties could demand lots larger than a half acre only if land owners were compensated for the constraint, or if the government proved that a health or safety problem in a particular area required big lots. (Developers who *want* low density could easily do so with private covenants.)

This reform would restore the traditional rights of land owners to determine the use of their land, and would make local voters sensitive to the costs of arbitrarily keeping others out of their community via zoning prohibitions. It would also encourage housing to be built where it belongs. There is no credible reason for a ten-acre minimum lot size other than the exclusion of outsiders from the benefits of suburban living, and at the expense of some farmer who did not have the foresight to subdivide before the adoption of the current zoning law.

Make Transit Understandable

By Nathan Glazer

Co-editor The Public Interest*; professor emeritus, Harvard University.*

One thing we can do is to improve the quantity and quality of information we give city-dwellers about public transportation. The city resident in the United States is often left in the dark as to where public transit runs, picks up, and drops off. The bewildered citizen may see a sign saying "Bus Stop"—perhaps with a mysterious code like "Q45"—but unless he is already a regular rider, how is he to know where the Q45 goes, how often it makes the trip, how close it passes to his destination, how much it costs, whether the driver will accept bills, etc.? In ignorance of all these facts, he will take a taxi or make sure never again to be dependent on public transportation.

In Paris we find not only a bus shelter but maps giving the schedule and itinerary of every bus that passes it, and a local map showing where one may buy tickets. In contrast, the bus shelters of New York City provide no information, and their sides are devoted to ads. The French bus shelters have ads, too, but they also deliver help.

In the Tokyo subway, there are maps showing which exits connect with which streets and buildings above ground. While waiting for a train, the traveler will see on the opposite wall the name of the station from which the train is coming and the one to which it is going—saving a person from going in the wrong direction. In London, electric signs on the platform indicate which train is approaching and how long before it arrives. If we had such systems in our cities we would not have passengers exasperatedly peering into the darkness, their heads leaning precariously over the tracks, looking for a train that seems never to come.

Providing better transit signs and information is a simple way to improve the livability of our cities, suburbs, and towns. Graphics and printing are relatively cheap.

Promote "Near Transit" Mortgages

By Patrick H. Hare

Principal in Hare Planning, a housing and transportation planning firm in Washington, D.C.; author of The Home Economics of Reduced Car Ownership.

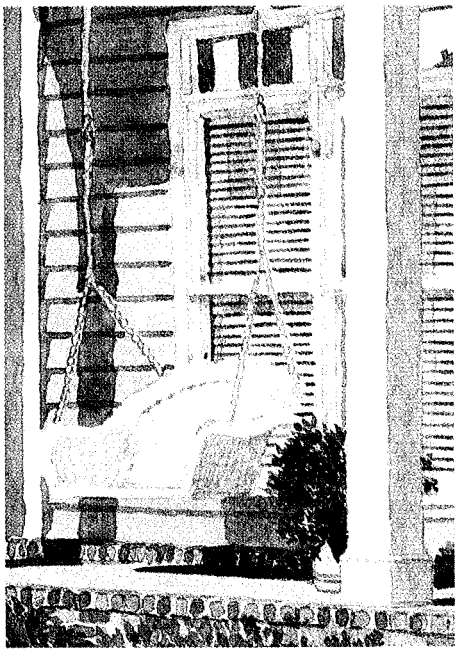
What drains leadership from middle- and lower-middle-class neighborhoods in the U.S.? My first nomination goes to the mortgage approval system, because banks approve home mortgages without considering the transportation costs of the house being purchased. In doing so, they make suburban homes look much more affordable than urban homes. Many suburban houses are cheap, but a family has to pay $10,000 a year in transportation expenses for the two cars needed to operate from an outlying address. That is about 25 percent of entry-level homebuyer income. City houses tend to be more expensive, but they allow their residents to spend far fewer transportation dollars. If housing and transportation costs are added together, suburban residences are no cheaper than those in the city—except in the eyes of the mortgage banking system, which ignores the fact that a household relying on public transit and an occasional rental car can often eliminate a second car, or even a first.

The least known fact in transportation planning is that a median-income household that gives up two cars and relies instead on transit plus car rental can save $7,000 a year, or about 17 percent of their income. This means they can make mortgage payments on a house costing about $70,000 more than a subur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ban counterpart. So why do few homebuyers make that choice? One reason may be that banks ignore the drain of cars on suburban household budgets when they approve mortgages.

My remedy for this is "Near Transit Mortgages"—simple adjustments that would allow bigger mortgages for people who are able to make bigger house payments because they're close to public transportation and own fewer cars. At no public cost, Near Transit Mortgages would open up home ownership to a larger group of financially qualified households, reduce suburban sprawl, and allow young leaders and families to stay in cities if they would prefer.



Pedal A Bike

By John Stilgoe

Robert and Lois Orchard Professor in the History of Landscape, Harvard University, and author of Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb.

Buy a bike, and inch the revolution along. Dismiss the environmental activists, forget the energy-conservation coalitions, above all eschew the bike-path construction lobby. Consider only the relationship between a fast-graying suburban population and the unavoidable issues of exercise, physical fitness, and retention of good health into old age. Unlike running or weight-lifting, bicycling is gentle exercise, but it is immediately useful too, especially in older walking suburbs, but even in the vast new southern and western suburbs routinely classified as automobile-only places.

Aficionados now know how near-magical 21-speed gearing, lightweight frames, sprung saddles, and other innovations developed in the last decade for mountain trails and hundred-mile races make bicycling on suburban streets stunningly pleasant, inviting to any duffer, amazing to anyone off bicycles since childhood. Soon the advent of franchised bicycle stores and an onslaught of national advertising will make the modernized bicycle as popular as sunscreen and bottled spring water. Suburbanites will discover that 25-mph gentle exercise reaches convenience stores, post offices, coffee shops, and a thousand other short-distance destinations.

Bicyclists support a particular scale of retail environment—quick-stop boutique plazas rather than regional malls. Resort communities are setting examples with eight-foot-wide sidewalks, timed traffic signals, and bike racks.

So buy a bike and ride it. And watch. Just as running shoes changed how women shop in very large malls and the mouse changed how computer users work, so something as simple as the turn-of-the-millennium bicycle is already reshaping how Americans live in suburbs.

Learn From Tradition

By Henry M. Turley Jr.

Lead developer of Harbor Town, Memphis, Tennessee.

I am a developer who has created several new communities from scratch, and whenever we set out to build a livable neighborhood we apply these simple rules:

1. *Our communities should be compatible with our history.* In building our future we need to fit things into our past. I am a Southerner, and every Southerner knows that lives are shaped by place and time. Unfortunately, most of today's suburbs don't adequately reflect that. They don't explain us, and don't do us justice. They are too much the same. Is this particular one in the mid-South, Kansas City, or Chicago? It's often hard to tell.

2. *Neighborhoods should be home to all kinds of people.* It's important that a range of people live together—old and young, rich and not so rich, working and retired. Democracy requires that we know, understand, and respect our fellow citizens. How can we do this if we never see them?

3. *We need common spaces, shared ground.* We should remember our roots in the town square. Where can one better have a political rally, trade knives, spit, idle away an hour or so, just have a spontaneous, unexpected conversation with a neighbor? Doing those things is important to the unity of a society.

4. *Our common areas must be fine places, well built and well cared for.* I believe there is a growing imbalance today between our commitment to sumptuous homes and spare community facilities (our parks, town squares, and such). This parallels an imbalance between our private lives and our civic lives that is not good for our country.

5. *Life in our neighborhoods should be lived outside as well as inside, publicly as well as privately.* We need front porches, not just rear decks. We need gregarious settings where there can be easy intimacy with our neighbors. I build developments dense enough to allow walking and freedom from cars—developments with sidewalks and places to which they take us: stores, schools, and a town hall right in the community, not down the highway.

Many of these ideas simply involve returning to earlier practices. It's become clear to me that older, traditional ways of building communities were often more wholesome, comfortable, and efficient. So one of the best things any reformer can do today is to evoke, defend, and extend the living patterns of times past.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Three Good Community-Building Ideas From Abroad

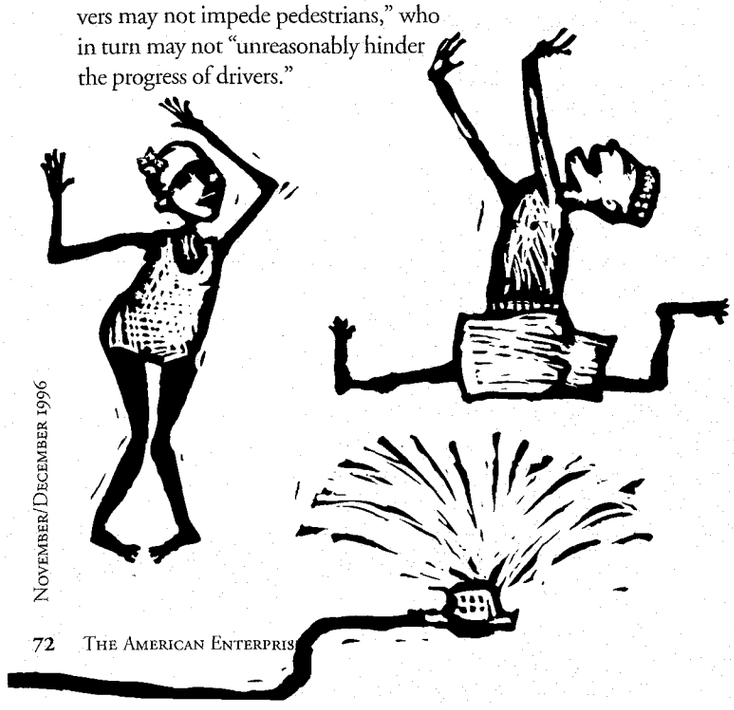
BY GEORGE W. LIEBMANN

We are so accustomed to government and business acting on a large scale that we neglect the many ways smaller bodies, private and governmental, can address social problems. Although we hear a lot about reviving "civil society" and improving our community life, this talk rarely includes specific examples. So let's consider three simple but effective institutions that have improved community life in other nations and could benefit Americans as well.

Woonerven in the Netherlands, Germany, & Denmark

The odd-sounding *woonerf* (the plural is *woonerven)* is a very local scheme of government that allows residential streets to be controlled by the people who live on them. *Woonerven* first appeared in the Netherlands in 1976. Precursors can be found in earlier laws in England and New York that permit the transfer of street-uses from traffic to people. The Dutch innovation rests on what Rodney Tolley has called the "startling and revolutionary notion" that in residential areas, traffic and people should be integrated, with traffic "admitted on the residents' terms...slowly and without superior rights."

To make the streets more resident-friendly, physical changes are often made. New laws actually allow curbs to be eliminated, and sidewalks and roads to be integrated into one surface, giving the visual impression of a residential yard. "Pedestrians may use the full width of the road," and "playing on the roadway is also permitted. Drivers within a *woonerf* may not drive faster than [about 8 to 12 mph]. They must make allowance for the possible presence of pedestrians, children at play, unmarked objects." While in a *woonerf,* "drivers may not impede pedestrians," who in turn may not "unreasonably hinder the progress of drivers."

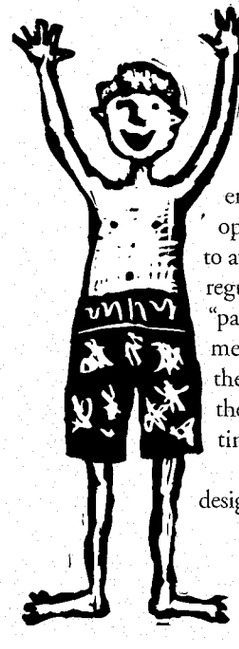


Traffic in *woonerven* is controlled by ramps, speed bumps, narrowings, street furniture, planters, and trees. Parking is permitted only in designated spaces. These innovations aid child-raising, improve safety, and help create a sense of community in both suburban and city areas. In the Netherlands, establishing a *woonerf* requires 60 percent approval by a majority of neighborhood citizens. Because they result from local initiative, *woonerven* have proven highly popular. By 1983, 2,700 *woonerven* had been created, leading to a 50 percent reduction in injuries within them.

The same scheme has become highly popular in Germany and Denmark as well. In many new developments in Denmark the streets are privately owned, so residents who want "traffic calming" like those used in *woonerven* must pay for them themselves, with the cost per household approximating that of a new refrigerator. Similar private street regimes exist in parts of St. Louis, and in many of the newer American residential community associations.

The popularity of *woonerven* has led to broader efforts to calm traffic in residential areas through the use of 18 mph speed limits, numerous four-way stop signs, street narrowings, speed bumps, and other speed-reducers. These techniques have also been popularized in the United States by Oscar Newman and others who promote the idea of using "defensible space" to protect neighborhoods.

If *woonerven* are to be accepted in the United States, they must be presented as an expansion of the legal rights of property owners. This can be achieved through a Dutch-like mechanism for creating them via neighborhood petition, or by allowing them to be created by residential community associations, or by street privatization on the St. Louis model. In the short run, the Dutch mechanism is simplest and results in "stronger social cohesiveness, much brought about by the involvement of the residents themselves in a sophisticated process of planning their own surroundings."



In some places, bureaucrats and traffic engineers have resisted *woonerven.* The developers of Seaside, Florida, found that in order to avoid rigid government street-width and curb regulations, they had to call their *woonerven* "parking areas." But interest in traffic-calming methods is increasing, and the literature on them, beginning with the pioneering work of the late Donald Appleyard, an American, continues to grow.

The writer Carol Rose championed well-designed and -maintained public spaces, arguing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that "in the absence of the socializing activities that take place on inherently public property, the public is a shapeless mob, whose members neither trade nor converse nor play." Paradoxically, various forms of privatization are now the best way to ensure that streets fulfill this vital function of public space.

Land Readjustment Associations in Europe and Asia

Americans assume there are only two ways to assemble land for urban renewal. The first is "eminent domain," where the state condemns land so it can then be sold off to developers. There are few legal restrictions on this technique, but it has disadvantages. Since each property owner whose land is condemned has a right to a jury trial, delays and unpredictable costs occur, even though few condemnees end up pleased with the results, because juries drawn from taxpayers are frequently parsimonious. In addition, the public authority must pay for each lot of land as its value is determined, and then sit on the lots as they are assembled and construction proceeds, which can result in heavy capital and carrying costs. Meanwhile, as all this is going on, property maintenance ceases and "planning blight" descends.

The other standard method of acquiring land is through private acquisition, such as the Rouse Company used to create Columbia, Maryland. This requires great stealth and the use of dummies to avoid alerting speculators. And convincing the last few landowners to sell almost always requires payment of exorbitant prices.

Cost, coercion, and planning blight have discredited American urban renewal by means of "eminent domain," and private land assembly is rarely attempted on a large scale in cities, where news of buyer interest travels fast. Private developers find it easier and less costly to acquire open land in the countryside, which in turn encourages urban sprawl.

There is, however, a third method of acquiring land for development or redevelopment, and it has been used in other countries for a century. Called "land readjustment," it has proven especially useful in reclaiming decayed slums and repairing war damage. At a time when many American inner cities resemble war zones, with vacant lots and vandalized buildings, this technique deserves exploration.

Under land readjustment, a specified supermajority of owners petition the local public authority for permission to establish a redevelopment area. When its boundaries are established, dissenting homeowners have the right to be excluded. Other dissenters can insist that the petitioners immediately buy them out at an impartially appraised value, a remedy like the one dissenting shareholders receive in corporate reorganizations. The remaining petitioners then receive proportionate shares in the common enterprise. A management committee is elected, which either funds construction by borrowing against land values or enters into joint ventures with builders. When work is complete, each petitioner receives either a building representing his share of the new development, or cash payments, or a prorated share as owner in common.

Landowners thus have a profit incentive to cooperate, rather than hold out against redevelopment. The scheme also makes redevelopment possible without the necessity of first raising funds to acquire and hold the land. And so long as the scheme is approved by public authority and provides adequate compensation for dissenters, it presents no constitutional difficulties.

The system originated in Germany, where ever-smaller farm holdings eventually required that mechanisms be devised to consolidate land in a fair and efficient way. During the first ten years this method was tried in an urban context, in Frankfurt, 14 areas totaling 375 acres were pooled and redistributed. Originally consisting of 643 lots belonging to 149 owners, the land was redivided into 198 parcels after a deduction of 25 to 40 percent was made for new streets and common areas. Extensively utilized after World War II in the reconstruction of cities like Kiel and Rotterdam, variants of the scheme accounted for more than half of reconstructed housing in Japan, as well as much housing in Korea and Taiwan. Land readjustment has also been successfully encouraged in parts of France, India, Sweden, and elsewhere.

Accessory Apartments in Germany and Japan

In recent years, homelessness and a shortage of child care have been two of this country's gravest problems. Yet the commonly proposed solutions seem tailored mostly to the interests of various service providers, not to average households. The conventional prescription for homelessness, for instance, is to subsidize the building of new shelters (an idea popular with industry, unions, and public-housing activists). Similarly, the greatest enthusiasm for new public subsidies for day care comes from prosperous two-income professional families and the social-work bureaucracies competing to administer such programs.

But today's lack of inexpensive housing does not stem from a lack of construction, but from the misallocation of existing housing stock, thanks to rigid zoning regulations combined with dramatic changes in family size. As for child care, the desire of many women to burn the candle at both ends is greatly exacerbated by the physical separation of generations and income groups—also a product of rigid zoning. On both fronts there is a simpler solution: get regulators out of the way and encourage more *accessory apartments*.

Consider some little-known statistics: The number of single persons requiring their own small apartments tripled between 1960 and 1985. The number of households containing six or more persons—for whom many of today's large houses were constructed—declined by approximately half during the same years. As a result, many people live in more house than they need.

Meanwhile, the percentage of widowed women over 65 living with relatives declined from 58 percent in 1950 to 17 percent in 1994. In earlier times, these women would have been available to mind children. Instead, they now typically live alone, often far from family members.

Our housing market has had trouble adapting to these changes, and one reason is that zoning rigidities prohibit carving

continued on page 98

George W. Liebmann of Baltimore is author of The Little Platoons: Sub-Local Governments in Modern History. (Praeger, 1995)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The 3 Generation

Life and Death Under One Roof

By Cathy Myers

My daughter and my mother studying.

When our first child was small, we lived thousands of miles from either set of grandparents, near Mexico City. We were paid in pesos, and when the peso began falling rapidly, our delight in this Mexican adventure faded. My parents urged us to come back to New Jersey and live in their walk-out basement while we regrouped, and we accepted their offer.

Our second child was born shortly after we moved in, and my parents relished the daily interaction with their grandchildren. When Grandma came home from work she would "yoo-hoo" as she opened the front door, and my son would run to greet her. She'd change into "play clothes" and the next hour or so was his. They had tea parties, played ball, and scooted cars across the floor. When the baby got fussy, Grandpa would scoop her up for a walk outside "to see the birdies."

Meanwhile, my husband was changing careers and working long hours on top of a long commute. And I was struggling with the loneliness of being an at-home mother in the early 1980s in an outer suburb that I knew was a temporary place for us. When Fred found a position in the Washington, D.C. suburbs we were sad to be moving our children away from Grandma and Grandpa, but relieved to be financially independent again.

We settled into our new community, and my parents came to visit several times a year. As they approached retirement, we began to talk about sharing a house again. Their income was limited, and their house and yard required more upkeep than they could manage. We decided to find a house to share. As we searched, though, we found that the advertised "in-law suites" were often small, dark after-thoughts, and many of the neighborhoods with larger homes were too remote for our tastes. We began to think about renovating instead of moving. The children could keep their familiar routines, we would stay close to friends, and our location near shopping, a library, a recreation center, and public transportation would make it easier for Dad to live with his decision to stop driving when they moved down.

We drew up house plans, met with builders, and consulted an attorney for advice on the financial aspects of sharing a house. The attorney advised against co-ownership, but we didn't have the resources to finance this project ourselves. So my parents gave us a loan and some cash which would be counted in the future as our part of their estate. They also agreed to pay us a monthly rent.

We planned a large bedroom, a handicapped-accessible bathroom, and a modest living room for my parents. We would share the kitchen, dining room, and laundry area, all on the same floor as their rooms. We moved out of the house and construction began. Four months later, we moved back in.

My parents were thrilled with their space, and we began integrating our daily routines. We cooked and ate together, Dad attended many of our son Scott's baseball games, and our daughter Michelle often invited friends over to play cards with Grandma.

But then, one morning just nine months after moving in we heard my Mom shouting for help. My dad had suffered a major stroke. After several weeks in therapy, he came home. Though he could speak very little, I discovered he could sing along to familiar songs. We began to sing together every night after dinner, and were glad to be able to include him in the rhythm of family life. He and I went to watch Scott's baseball games, singing "Take Me Out to the Ballgame" on the drive. When we couldn't go, Scott would come in after the game and describe the action to Grandpa. Scott was by now 14, approaching six feet tall, and he would guide his grandfather to his place at the dinner table. After about a year, my father died.

My mother kept telling us how glad she was to be with us. She spent more time in the kitchen, telling us stories about herself I had never heard before. She enjoyed doing crafts with Michelle, and Scott would visit in her living room after school to talk about his day. She insisted she didn't mind the volume of his guitar in the basement. Soon it was an entire rock band, and still she didn't mind. She went off on a beach vacation with my brother, attended a reunion of high school friends, and spent weeks visiting in New Jersey and welcoming her sixth grandchild into the world. But within the year she was diagnosed with cancer, and after calling in hospice she died in our home, surrounded by her children and grandchildren.

So life with my parents in this house didn't quite turn out as we expected. It was much too short. We have wonderful, comforting memories—and we also have unsettling worries about our financial future with this big house.

For now, we'll use Grandma and Grandpa's bedroom as a guest room. Perhaps another family member will share the space some day. One who can put up with a rock band.

Cathy Myers lives in Northern Virginia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Household Lives!

Two Times Three

By Lee Miller

Chris Miller, Jeanine Miller, and Grammy.

Yeah, I know, it's tough to be a kid. Yeah, I also know it's tough to be a parent. Try being both at the same time, in the same household, sometimes in the same sentence.

"If your Grammy doesn't have anything planned for supper, we can stop at McD's on the way home from practice," I tell my son who's looking for his baseball gear. I'm trying to help before Grammy, who also lives at our house, provides us both with a lecture on the virtues of getting ready before the last minute.

As the result of my divorce, I live in a three-generational household that includes my mother, son, daughter, and two cats. My first experience at "three generationalism" was as a child living with my grandmother and mother.

My mother came to this country as a military bride. We lived with my father and his parents until my grandfather's death and father's desertion. Strangely enough, our family of three stayed together; Mom was the provider while her mother-in-law maintained the household and worked part-time. As a kid I learned the advantages of being the child of two mothers. With paternal discipline out of the way, it was easy to find a way to get what I wanted. Sometimes I got caught between two sets of expectations, but by and large the atmosphere was a relaxed one. If there were power struggles on high, they didn't affect me.

It's not so easy being the in-between generation. As the "in-betweener" I still get to be the kid—even when I don't want to be, even when I try to remind my mother that at 43 years of age you should be able to go out without leaving a minute-by-minute itinerary. And if I try to get away with something, I'm in double jeopardy from my mother *and* my kids, who take extraordinary and perverse pleasure in ratting on me. I also get to be a parent, a job I really enjoy but which can be hard when Grammy is intercepting my attempts at discipline or, conversely, blaming me for my childrens' failure to follow her particular standards of behavior. Try explaining to your daughter why "those shorts" are not appropriate for school as your mother interrupts to say, "you look like a 'frump' with your hair like that."

Still, there are advantages. Having another adult around to cook, chauffeur, and pitch in does make life easier. The extra money my mother contributes to the household makes a big difference in our standard of living and eliminates some of the harder choices I see other single mothers having to make. And though my mother may complain about my behavior or wardrobe from time to time, she is still my best supporter and biggest fan.

Despite the occasional rumble, my son and daughter enjoy having their grandparent around and benefiting from both her wisdom and care. They will always remember stories about her efforts as a child during World War II to aid the French Resistance by smuggling bullets to fighters in hollowed-out loaves of French bread. And if I embarrass them with the funny things they did as kids, they can always prompt Grammy into relating the one about their mom letting loose a jar full of stink bugs in the neighbor's dining room. My children enjoy their grandmother's ability to make their mom into a child like themselves. And maybe, just maybe, being a child in one relationship can make you a better parent in the other.

Lee Miller is the director of community resources for the Arlington Community Temporary Services, Inc.

Bring on the Elder Cottage

Tompkins County, New York, has recently launched an experiment that aims to make comfortable three-generation living possible even for lower-income families. The county will buy six small (28' x 24') modular one-story houses, which it will then make available to elderly individuals or couples at rents of between $190 and $354 per month, depending on income. The units, called "elder cottages," are moved to the rear or side yard of a relative's existing house and installed with shared utility hook-ups.

The idea is to have older persons living where they can easily interact with and be assisted by family members, while both households retain a degree of privacy, and without great expense. When the older person passes away or moves out, the unit is removed and rented to some other family. Because the placements are temporary, the county suspends zoning rules that would forbid a permanent installation. "When they're no longer needed, all traces of the cottages disappear," says David Leahy, director of the local non-profit that will administer the program.

The program will initially be funded by New York State. It is modeled on similar successful efforts in Australia, where an extensive private market for the buildings has grown up (most are privately owned and sold when no longer needed). New Jersey started the first U.S. elder cottage experiment, and if Tompkins County's test succeeds, the program will be expanded in New York.

—*KZ*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Transcript

WORDS WORTH REPEATING

GOVERNMENT IS AN ACCOMPLICE TO URBAN CRIME

By John J. DiIulio, Jr.

Adapted from a recent Bradley Lecture delivered at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C.

A few years ago, Danny Boyle hit the streets as a 21-year-old rookie police officer in Philadelphia, where his father had been a cop before him. Alone on patrol one night on the north side, Danny approached the driver of a stolen car. The driver was one Edward Bracey, a drug-using, gun-toting, street-wise repeat felon. In a flash, Bracey fired numerous shots into the rookie patrolman's head. Danny's police radio chillingly captured the fatal shots and his final words. An entire city mourned.

But the mourning was mixed with confusion—and anger. For the man who murdered Danny Boyle in cold blood had been in and out of criminal custody for years. Not once but twice he had been released without bail after failing to show up for trial. He was among tens of thousands of dangerous defendants released from custody after a self-righteous federal judge named Norma Shapiro imposed an arbitrary population cap on the city's jails. In one 18-month-period alone, Philadelphia police rearrested 9,700 of these released criminals, charging them with 79 murders, 90 rapes, and thousands of other serious offenses. As with all predatory street crime, each offense involved a victim with a name, a face, and a family.

Edward Bracey was eventually convicted of murder, sentenced to death, and is now running out his appeals. His accomplice, however, remains at large. For the killer of Danny Boyle was aided and abetted by a justice system that invites known criminals to find fresh victims while out on probation, parole, or pretrial release. A so-called justice system that:

- begins by immediately putting 63 percent of all violent felony defendants back on the streets during their trials
- delivers plea bargains in over 90 percent of all cases
- fails to incarcerate 47 percent of those felons who *are* convicted of a violent crime
- releases those violent convicts who *do* go to prison before they have served even half their sentence, on average.

In 1992, for example, there were 10.3 million violent crimes committed in the U.S. This led to 650,000 arrests, but only 165,000 convictions, and just 100,000 state prison sentences. Believe it or not, convicted murderers are now released after an average of just 5.9 years behind bars, or just 48 percent of their sentence. This so-called justice system operates as if it were designed to destroy what's left of public order and civility on the streets of America's big cities, not to preserve these things.

KILLERS AND OTHER CRIMINALS ARE AIDED AND ABETTED BY A JUSTICE SYSTEM IN OUR URBAN AREAS THAT INVITES KNOWN CRIMINALS TO FIND FRESH VICTIMS WHILE OUT ON PROBATION, PAROLE OR PRETRIAL RELEASE.

Why have over 200,000 Americans been murdered since We the People celebrated the bicentennial of our Constitution in 1987? Why did our violent crime toll stand at 9.9 million victimizations in 1995, including over 20,000 murders, more than a million aggravated assaults, 1.1 million robberies, and 355,000 rapes? The overarching answer is that much violent crime is, in fact, a self-inflicted social wound—harm inflicted on individuals, families, neighborhoods, and entire cities by the routinized failure of our court and prison system to restrain known violent and repeat street criminals. Fully a third of the millions of violent crimes committed in this country each year, including in some jurisdictions a third of all the murders, are committed by criminals out on probation, parole, or pretrial release.

When we permit revolving-door justice we rob ourselves. For violent crime steals our Danny Boyles. It steals our poor, minority children. It steals economic vitality from our inner-city neighborhoods. It takes away our most basic freedom to walk the streets without fear.

If those who gave us our representative democracy could see the way persistent popular majorities now have their will ignored, distorted, and thwarted by minority factions within and outside of government, they would be disheartened. There are many areas of governance today where one can find a gulf between public policies and persistent majority preferences. On the subject of crime and punishment, the gap between public opinion and policy has become a Grand Canyon.

John J. DiIulio, Jr., is director of the Brookings Institution's Center for Public Management, adjunct fellow at the Manhattan Institute, and a professor at Princeton University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thank hevinz fur inglish teechurs lik theez heer wons.

Otherwise we could be a nation divided by a common language.

These educators have pioneered methods of teaching that are not only relevant, involving, and fun, they teach students to respect the importance and power of English.

Writing and researching a detailed county history, creating and marketing a fine arts calendar, and producing their own morning newscast are just some of the ways these teachers have taught their students to appreciate the English language.

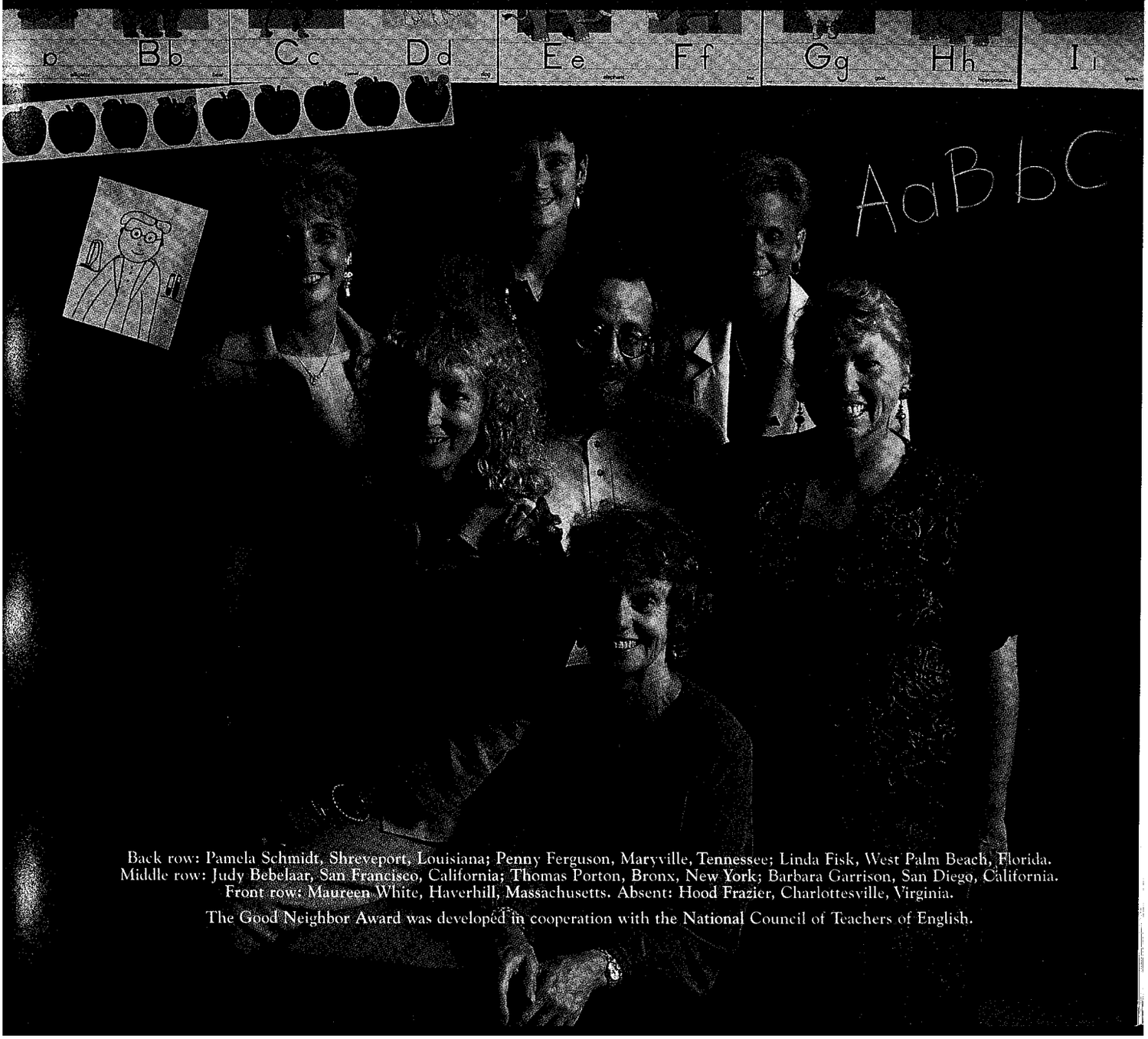
For their innovative ways of teaching respect for one of our most important common bonds, State Farm has presented each of these inventive educators with our Good Neighbor Award, and made $5,000 donations to the educational institutions of their choice.

STATE FARM INSURANCE (Auto, Life, Fire)

GOOD NEIGHBOR AWARD

STATE FARM INSURANCE COMPANIES
Home Offices: Bloomington, Illinois

http://www.statefarm.com



Back row: Pamela Schmidt, Shreveport, Louisiana; Penny Ferguson, Maryville, Tennessee; Linda Fisk, West Palm Beach, Florida.
Middle row: Judy Bebelaar, San Francisco, California; Thomas Porton, Bronx, New York; Barbara Garrison, San Diego, California.
Front row: Maureen White, Haverhill, Massachusetts. Absent: Hood Frazier, Charlottesville, Virginia.

The Good Neighbor Award was developed in cooperation with the National Council of Teachers of English.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Real Life

THE DAILY WORK OF AMERICANS

DOPE AT THE TOP

By Raymond Wisher

Just as a pebble perched on a mountaintop can start a landslide, foolish national policies soon enough tumble down as dangerous avalanches to us police officers on the street. And so I'm depressed to report that on the drug front, the Clinton era has now trickled down.

The President of the United States was once a doper and has now surrounded himself with dopers in the White House. He's made it clear he doesn't have a problem with that. To paraphrase the popular T-shirt slogan, "This is your government on drugs."

Libertarian friends of mine say "big deal." But every day now, President Clinton's lax attitude toward drugs is affecting my life—and yours.

You see, it finally happened. The other day one of our detectives arrested a young man who is a known dealer of everything from marijuana to crack. He likes hanging around with teenagers (usually good kids like yours), dealing to them, having relationships with them. When he was stopped, he had three juveniles with him, two girls and a young male runaway. One of the girls was his girlfriend, the other was someone I hadn't met yet.

As a matter of course, I take these kids to one side and try to get them to wake up and realize what kind of people they are with, what kind of choices they are making by being with them. So I asked the unfamiliar girl whether she would keep company with a murderer. "Of course not." Then I asked if she would befriend a rapist. "Never." Burglar? "No, I'd be too worried about my house." A thief? She hesitated, then said, "No, I don't think so." How about dopers and drug dealers? "I don't use it myself," was her answer, her justification. "But you are known by whom you associate with," I said.

About that time our adult suspect's 16-year-old girlfriend walked up and heard what we were talking about. She got upset and began complaining that we were picking on her boyfriend. She began to list reasons why using dope shouldn't be taken so seriously. Reason number two was, I quote: "Why pick on us? What's the big deal? I mean, look at President Clinton." The other girl looked to me to see my answer. I was stunned, though I should have been prepared.

I hesitated a beat, but then jumped next to the new girl and tried to recover: "Hey, what he does doesn't justify what you are doing. Does that make it OK?" The girls looked for a second, then rolled their eyes and smiled. I lost the argument. All that effort—and one bad example a thousand miles away cuts me off at the knees.

SHE SAID, "WHY PICK ON US? WHAT'S THE BIG DEAL? I MEAN, LOOK AT PRESIDENT CLINTON." I WAS STUNNED.

When I got back to the car, my partner could see I was upset. I told him what had happened. He shook his head. I scratched mine, turned, and asked him a question. "If they have figured it out, how many more have caught on?" Apparently lots, because the reports show big up-ticks in drug use over the latest three years, following long declines. Lord knows LSD use is jumping. We recently intercepted three juveniles in separate incidents who had just bought blotter acid that day. They were all heading for parties. Roofies are also on the rise. That's the date-rape pill you've heard about. It does knock the woman out. She can do a whole lot of stuff and have no clue, like a walking zombie.

Thanks to reduced interdiction, acid now ranges between four and five dollars a hit. Roofies are about three to eight dollars, depending on whether you buy in bulk or not. Cocaine is down to $35 a gram or less; marijuana is dirt cheap. People wonder if legalizing drugs would stop crimes committed to nab drug-buying money. The fact is, drugs are almost free already. Which explains why some kids today can't even do "hamburger-flipping" jobs without painted pictures to follow.

A captain of mine once explained why he opposed legalizing drugs: "How do you tell your ten-year-old son that drugs are bad if he asks, 'Then why does the government say it's OK?'"

I never thought I would actually be faced with that as the real-life message communicated by government in this country. But I think that's now where we are. And that's why I think, contrary to Michael McCurry's opinion, that acceptance of drugs in the White House is a very big deal.

Raymond Wisher is a Florida police detective.

THE HOLT COUNTY VOTE

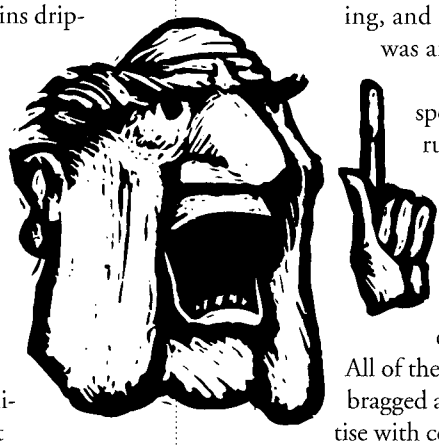
By Blake Hurst

Of the 53 people arrested for traffic violations in Holt County, Missouri, during the last week of July, four were Holt County residents. Only a cynic would attribute this to the fact that Bernie Delaney, the sheriff of Holt County, was involved in a hotly contested primary race.

I first met Bernie when he was deputy sheriff running for the state legislature in a special election in 1991. The Republican Central Committees in the legislative

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

district met in a local truck stop to pick their candidate. Bernie was the first of the three candidates to speak, and his talk was easily the most memorable. He sauntered to the front of the room and announced that his willingness to serve the good folks of Northwest Missouri was unsurpassed. As an example of past service, he gave an all-too-graphic description of his experience as the first officer to arrive at the scene of a convenience store murder. Perhaps his description of "brains dripping down the front of the pop cooler" was not totally appropriate for that particular audience. Bernie did not get the nomination, but his speech earned him a permanent place in our family lore.



Julie and I next saw Bernie when he was one of 19 speakers at the Holt County Farm Bureau Candidates' Night and Hog Roast held this summer in Oregon, Missouri. His speech this time was in a little better taste. Perhaps he had been in touch with Mark Helprin.

There are only 6,000 people in Holt County, just south of where I live, and 25 of them were on the August primary ballot. And quite a collection of candidates it was, too. Seven of the eight candidates for sheriff were Republicans. The revolution is secure in Holt County, if nowhere else. The lone Democratic candidate's entire speech consisted of introducing herself and explaining that she was running because she thought her party ought to be represented on the ballot, too. The candidate who bested Bernie in the primary is also a woman, guaranteeing Holt County a sheriff of the distaff persuasion. The new Republican candidate is a shoe-in, since Republican primary voters outnumbered Democrats 16 to one. The high number of candidates led to a huge turnout, and the results were delayed because polling places ran out of ballots.

One of the other Republicans running for sheriff was a newcomer to Holt County, who hailed from the West Coast in 1992. He didn't have a prayer. County offices are some of the best jobs available in our area, and we don't give them to carpetbaggers from California. If he pays his bills and stays out of jail, maybe his kids can successfully run for county office.

There were three candidates for county collector, including one lady who had worked in the collector's office before her children were born, and now that they were reared, was ready to return. Holt Countians are sympathetic to career breaks caused by child-rearing, and the empty-nester was an easy winner.

The last five speakers were all running for assessor. The sole Democrat was quick to claim two of the Republican candidates as relatives. All of the candidates bragged about their expertise with computers, which must be important to assessors, and one candidate remarked that he was printing all his campaign literature in his basement on his home computer. Not a campaign boast likely to be repeated by either Clinton or Dole.

One of the candidates for assessor was Margaret Salfrank. She had decided that she wanted to be Holt County assessor some five years ago, and had entered college in her fifties to prepare herself for the office. Her campaign plan was simple. She was going to knock on every door in Holt County. At the time, she had been to 1,400 houses, with only one small town to go. She must have completed her self-appointed task, because Margaret won her primary.

To poke fun at folks running for local offices can be all too easy. They tend to be unpolished in both appearance and speech. But I was much moved by those 19 candidates as Julie and I listened to their pleas for their friends' and neighbors' votes. They are honest and hard working, and used to making dollars stretch to the breaking point. I'm not sure Margaret Salfrank is what the policy wonks in Washington have in mind when they talk about devolution, but she should be. If dedication and sincerity count, I'd as soon trust Margaret with my tax dollars as any national politician I can name.

Blake Hurst is a regular contributor to The American Enterprise.

IN PRAISE OF NEIGHBORHOOD NARROWNESS

By George Marlin

As youths in New York City neighborhoods, we were parochial, protective of turf that was often nothing more than a stoop, or a piece of sidewalk that saw the joys of stickball, punchball, boxball, and scooters made from wooden milk crates. Indeed, much of life revolved around stickball and punchball teams, organized by parish, and the most athletic of us would boast how many sewers we could punch our Spalding rubberballs (translation: sewer manhole covers are about 75 feet apart, so a ball hit two sewer covers travels about 150 feet). Growing up in neighborhoods also meant being instilled with respect for family, education, discipline, hard work, and loyalty.

The old ethnic neighborhood is what native New Yorkers have in common. In the city of New York, Poles, Jews, Hispanics, Orientals, Irish, Italians, and Germans blend in with their cosmopolitan environment while working in Manhattan. But when they return at day's end to the neighborhoods of Greenpoint, Williamsburg, Ridgewood, Jackson Heights, Flushing, Woodside, and Bay Ridge, they return to their cultural heritage.

Regrettably, outsiders do not easily grasp the value of the ethnic neighborhood, or how its citizenry operates. Many wrongly view it as a breeding ground for racism, narrow-mindedness, and rudeness. They don't understand that neighborhoods are self-contained life centers that protect traditional virtues and repulse state domination. These densely populated areas do not add to government bureaucracy; they have the opposite effect. Their residents hound their civic and property-owners' associations, planning and school boards, and local legislators. "If you believe in no bigger than

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

necessary, you have got to believe in the neighborhood," writes sociologist Andrew Greeley.

True, many of New York's neighborhoods began to decline after World War II. The G.I. Bill, federal housing, and interstate road programs permitted children and grandchildren of immigrants to receive an education, become upwardly mobile, and move to suburbia. But because of the anti-immigration laws there were no new immigrants to replace them, and a deep urban rot set in.

In recent years, however, new immigrants have begun to revitalize many of New York's neighborhoods. Studies demonstrate that these new immigrants have strengthened the quality of urban areas. They have re-populated communities, schools, and transit systems. They have rebuilt deserted homes, reintroduced neighborhood shops and ethnic restaurants. These are "new people of every color and ethnicity, most of them ambitious and exhibiting an ethic of work that shrinks the hallowed Protestant ethic to apathy," notes sociologist Louis Winnick.

Yes, these neighborhoods daily confirm Michael Novak's 1972 observation that "a politics based on family and neighborhoods is far stronger socially and psychologically than a politics based on bureaucracy."

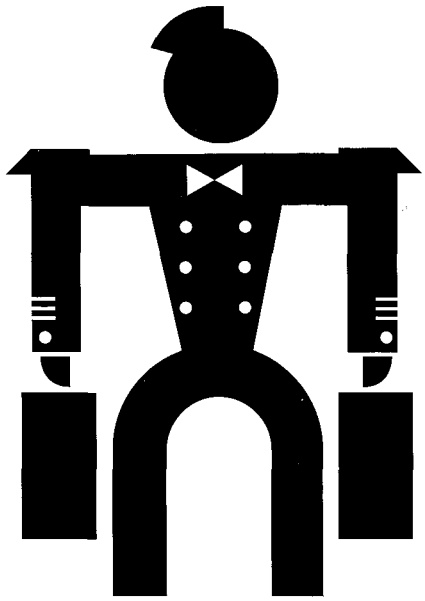
George J. Marlin, a lifelong resident of the city of New York, is executive director of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey.

COMMUNAL LIFE WITH THE DOORMAN

By Evan Gahr

A "doorman building" has considerable cachet in New York City, but folks elsewhere probably don't understand the allure. Why do New Yorkers gladly pay extra to have some guy downstairs who knows all their business, expects a hefty tip every Christmas, and is painfully obsequious?

Other cities have residential buildings with clerks or even guards who sit behind a desk in the lobby. But a "doorman"—always standing and dressed like a servant—is rare outside of New York, where



I'M PROBABLY THE ONLY RESIDENT OF A DOORMAN BUILDING IN NEW YORK CITY WHO FINDS IT INTOLERABLE.

residents pay 30 percent higher rents for the "privilege" of 24-hour-yenta service. Certainly, doormen provide an added measure of security. But the appeal extends beyond safety. A doorman building, no matter how shabby inside or out, confers prestige on residents. They aren't like the peasants who inhabit non-doorman buildings. It's also perfect for folks who wish to live out their fantasies of being feudal barons. When some guy in a servant's uniform—cap; special polyester pants, usually white-trimmed; a matching jacket; and, sometimes, white gloves—is at your beck and call, a man's home really is his castle.

Nevertheless, I'm probably the only resident of a doorman building in New York City who finds it intolerable. I moved into one this January because I liked the location—and because, in a quirk due largely to New York's rent control laws, it cost as little as a fifth-floor walk-up.

I certainly got more than I bargained for. My building usually has two doormen per shift. One stands at the door, the other behind the lobby's desk. There's also the building superintendent's wife, who mills about the lobby in her lovely house dress. They didn't know quite how to handle my unorthodox requests. Disliking formality, I asked the doormen to stop calling me "Mr. Gahr."

"Evan" was just fine. Sure enough, they called me Evan—more than I wanted. "Good morning, Evan. Have a good day, Evan, and I hope to see you tomorrow, Evan."

But push really came to shove over my building's revolving door entrance. No sooner was I inside the revolving door when the doorman ran to push it from the other side. When I asked to do it myself, the guy looked utterly baffled, as if I said, "When my friends from Jupiter get here, tell them to double park their spaceship outside."

My request raised fundamental questions about his doormanhood. On the one hand, he is supposed to follow my wishes. On the other hand, his job is to push the door. Now it does take considerable talent to push a revolving door without tripping the person inside. You have to wonder: did he master this unusual skill in doorman school, where revolving door technique is taught along with obsequiousness?

In any event, the doorman initially let me push the door myself, but he soon lapsed into his old habit. It was too hard to wave him off every time he scurried to push the door for me. So I just decided to let him do it.

Trying to have any privacy with a doorman is also a losing battle. He knows when you come home and with whom. Your love life is on open display. Romance isn't the only thing that doormen know all too well. Because doormen ring up every visitor and delivery on the house phone, they even know your favorite restaurants.

In short, people can debate whether God is omniscient, but doormen definitely are. And strangely enough, in New York City more people are firm believers in doormen than in the Almighty.

Evan Gahr is a columnist for the New York Post.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, POP

By Ben Stein

Long ago, maybe in 1960 when he was running against Richard Nixon for President, John F. Kennedy was asked about some unsavory aspects of his father's life. "We all have fathers," said Kennedy, and by that he meant that we can't be responsible for what our fathers are. But some of us have fathers whose lives are so honorable that we wish we *could* be identified with what our fathers are. That's how I feel about my father, Herbert Stein, who just turned 80.

My father was winning things from the day he was born: declamation contests, math contests, you name it. When he was 15, he went off to Williams College, and I think you can understand some of the main strengths of my father's make-up from three facts of his college life. First, he had a job at Williams washing dishes at a fraternity that did not admit Jews. He did not feel at all slighted by this and does not recall it bitterly. Instead, he is grateful he had work to pay his way through school. Gratitude for what he has, not idle complaining and troublemaking, is one of his life's foundations.

Second, my father tried to find a job every summer that he was at Williams, and in all that time could only find one day's work. This he does recall with some distress, and it explains something about his compassionate approach to public policy. He has superb analytical ability, but knows that analytical ability without compassion is meager and unsatisfactory.

Third, he had the happiest day of his life just falling asleep listening to a famous game in the 1931 World Series on the radio. This shows his ability to find peace of mind through the broadcast media. They didn't have "Murder She Wrote" in those days, or my father might not have finished college. Without being in his family you cannot imagine how much time he spends watching TV, especially sports.

His work career since those summers during the Great Depression has been better. I often wish his father could have seen how he turned out. My grandfather used to go to brokerages during the Depression to watch stocks move on the ticker even though he had none, just for amusement. What would he make of a son who, when he was chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, could move markets with what he said? How proud he would have been. How happy with what my pal Aram rightly calls the greatest miracle of man's existence, America.

I want to share some views of my father as a man, not as an economist and savant. My father is modest in the extreme. Whenever I tell him how amazed I am at what he has made of his life, he always says that that tells more about America than about him. He has never, in all the time I've known him, ever suggested any way of cutting corners or making money doing anything even remotely questionable. There is no amount of money that could make him say anything he does not believe in. I have never heard him make a racist remark—which I can also say about my mother and sister. I have never seen him make a sexist remark. I have never seen him even look at another woman besides my mother.

Whenever a colleague questions my father's approach to an issue, my father's first inquiry is whether he, my father, might be wrong, not the other guy. When he disagrees, he does it with minimum force and maximum politesse. I have never asked him for help of any kind, usually some arcane statistic, that he did not furnish without a murmur, often enthusiastically. His loyalty to friends is absolute.

But even these things don't really show who my father is. You have to see him at home to know that. You have to see him cheerfully washing dishes after dinner and singing "Drink a Highball at Nightfall" to my mother. You have to see him hold my mother's hand as they watch "Jeopardy" night after night to get the picture. After almost 60 years, my parents are basically one person. They have a level of devotion to one another that is almost unimaginable in my generation.

You have to see my father making pancakes from scratch on a 40-year-old frying pan that his mother gave him, feeding my mother and my son and me and explaining about what Washington was like before the war when there were streetcars. You have to see him in his apartment, puttering around with snacks, making some wise observation about the election, telling jokes, singing songs from his college days, talking with tears in his eyes about friends.

HE IS GRATEFUL HE HAD WORK TO PAY HIS WAY THROUGH COLLEGE. GRATITUDE FOR WHAT HE HAS, NOT IDLE COMPLAINING AND TROUBLEMAKING, IS ONE OF HIS FOUNDATIONS.

Richard Nixon, the Stein family's favorite President, began his memoirs by saying, "I was born in a house my father built." In many ways—if you take out the starlets—I still live in a house my father built. It's a great house, filled with books and thought and love, and I feel very lucky to occupy it. And I hope to pass it on to my son.

Ben Stein is a writer, actor, lawyer, and a regular contributor to The American Enterprise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Al Dunlap

Al Dunlap and the Shareholder Revolution

By Richard Miniter

Scott Paper was a household name whose stock price was in the basement. The *Fortune* 500 conglomerate lost some $277 million in 1993 alone. Money managers threw up their hands. Executives pointed fingers.

Spread across the globe, Scott's divisions warred with one another like medieval princes. A bloated corporate staff spent more than $30 million per year on consultants, and millions more on cars, jets, club memberships, and other corporate perks—while splashing the company ledgers with red ink. Like Soviet commissars, factory managers knew exactly how many tons of paper they produced each year, but muttered "I'll have to get back to you" when asked how much money Scott made per ton. In surveys, customers called Scott's products "antiquated" and "boring." In short, aging plants lost money making goods of uneven quality that were haphazardly marketed to shoppers who considered them poor substitutes for the competition's products. Scott Paper was about to fall.

On his first visit to Scott's sprawling corporate headquarters near Philadelphia, Al Dunlap ran his hand along its marble-lined walls. It was a palace built for a declining empire. It had to go. Dunlap sold it for some $39 million and moved the corporate headquarters to Boca Raton, where Scott saved another $6 million per year in maintenance and climate-control costs. "In my experience, the success of a company is inversely proportional to the size and opulence of the headquarters," he explained.

Selling the palace was just the beginning. Dunlap knew Scott needed "shock therapy" and that administering it wasn't going to make him popular.

Within two years, Dunlap all but eliminated Scott's more than $2.5 billion debt. The stock price zoomed up some 200 percent over the same period. The value of the company, as measured by the total value of outstanding shares, grew from $2.5 billion in 1993 to $9 billion in 1995—one of the most dramatic turnarounds in commercial history. Once Scott was profitable and valuable, Dunlap sold it to Kimberly-Clark, thereby creating the second largest consumer products company in the United States. Scott, the ailing giant, was revived and merged to form a world-class competitor that would add jobs and profits in the coming years.

How did Dunlap do it? He brought focus and energy to the executive suite, cut costs, and trimmed overhead by firing some 71 percent of the corporate headquarters staff. He set out to cut corporate bloat with his characteristically direct manner. One day, Dunlap told the 11-member executive committee that ran Scott's, "I don't want the status quo." What followed, as described in Dunlap's new book *Mean Business,* was a typical example of Dunlap's confrontational management style. "I asked them to introduce themselves and explain their duties. One thing immediately caught my attention. There was no chief executive officer in attendance. The chief administrator, an engineer by training, said he handled financial details," Dunlap writes. "How absurd!" He soon disbanded the committee. Two members saw their responsibilities grow. The rest quit, transferred, or were let go.

Dunlap scrapped more than just the executive committee that debated while Scott's stock plunged. He also eliminated about 70 percent of upper-management jobs. Though most of the cuts were at the top of the organizational chart, few excess jobs (at any level) were spared as Dunlap trimmed more than 11,200 jobs from the payroll for a total reduction of 35 percent. Another 6,000 jobs were transferred to the payrolls of other companies when Dunlap sold non-core businesses, such as the coated paper division S.D. Warren and a Mobile, Alabama power plant. The 20,000 remaining jobs were secure in a reinvigorated company that began to grow for the first time in seven years, Dunlap contends.

The details of Dunlap's turnaround of Scott Paper are being repeated at Sunbeam and other big blue-chip companies as shareholders wake America's sleeping corporate giants and give them a simple choice: change or die.

In this way, a dramatic, if unheralded, shareholder revolution is slowly changing the way American business works. Turnaround specialists like Dunlap and an array of fund managers are forcing entrenched corporate management to pay more attention to shareholders. This could signal a break with what political scientist James Burnham called "the managerial revolution," in which professional managers, beginning in the 1930s, gradually took control from shareholders. Shareholders and their representatives on the boards of directors gradually ceded power to management, which demanded increasingly large salaries and lavish treatment while suffering little when the stock price sank. Chief executives and board members didn't act like owners because fewer and fewer of them *were* owners. Boards surrendered their judgment and relied on elaborate dog-and-pony shows staged by management. Interlocking sets of corporate directors led to an unwritten rule: judge not another company's performance lest your own company's performance be judged.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These new leaders claimed to be "scientific managers," but they gradually came to ignore the fundamentals of business. In the 1960s, overconfident CEOs bought other firms far from their core business and built massive conglomerates. The resulting behemoths had gross revenues larger than many developing countries, but they were operating too many businesses at a sub-par level. Few conglomerates were consistently profitable. Some, like RCA, were nearly killed by the acquisitions and later lost their independence as some other firm acquired them. Many are now being broken up by men like Dunlap.

"There was this theory, in the 1960s, that you had to conglomerize because as one business would go down, another business would go up and offset the cycle," Dunlap writes, "The flaw in that thinking is that shareholders are quite able to diversify on their own, thank you. Management doesn't have to do that for them."

Dunlap's management philosophy boils down to this: "The most important person in any company is the shareholder." By focusing on one goal—"make money for the owners"—Dunlap has succeeded in a series of turn-arounds at Lily-Tulip, Crown-Zellerbach, Australian National Industries, and others. His methods sometimes make enemies with executives and the press, but shareholders generally cheer.

Writing under the headline "Does Al Dunlap mean business or is he just plain mean?" Thomas Petzinger, Jr., a *Wall Street Journal* columnist, neatly summarizes the standard complaints against Dunlap and his fellow shareholder revolutionaries. The most popular criticism is that Dunlap likes to oust people from their jobs. Petzinger carps, "Just ask the casualties at Scott and elsewhere, people he brags in his book about dismissing with such rejoinders as 'get rid of her' and 'You two stay; the rest of you are fired.'" Other critics write about the laid-off workers as if Dunlap gunned them down.

Well, Dunlap rejoins, ailing companies frequently "restructure"—a euphemism for laying off workers—but these efforts rarely succeed because key executives fail to make hard choices. Instead, the constant mini-fixes drive out productive employees while keeping the indecisive and the demoralized. This kind of restructuring is all pain, no gain. Before Dunlap came aboard, Scott had had three restructurings in four years. "I only restructure once," Dunlap proudly points out. What's more, he sets a strict deadline (usually less than one year) when all cuts are made. After that, employees do not have to live in fear of an endless parade of job cuts and transfers. In the long run the tough-love approach is kinder, Dunlap argues.

SOME OPPONENTS BLAME DUNLAP FOR TAKING A COMPANY'S PROBLEMS OUT ON THE MOST VULNERABLE. ACTUALLY, DUNLAP TENDS TO CUT FROM THE TOP DOWN.

"Dunlap's hasty personnel judgments may be valid when the objective is a quick bump to the stock price. But building a great company demands managing people individually, marshaling the knowledge they accumulated yesterday in the service of tomorrow's markets," Petzinger complains. Dunlap's response is less elegant but more direct. If these individuals have such valuable ideas, why didn't they use them to boost the stock price?

Some opponents blame Dunlap for taking a company's problems out on the most vulnerable. Actually, though, Dunlap tends to cut from the top down. His first action is generally to release layers of executives and sell their toys.

Dunlap does not support today's fashionable idea that executives should manage a company for a wide array of "stakeholders," who are said to include not just the shareholders and employees, but also the host community, suppliers, consumers—anyone the company touches in any way. Dunlap, by contrast, ends all corporate donations at his companies. When a woman at Scott asked Dunlap if the company could restart a philanthropy program, he replied, "If you want to give on your own, that is your business and I encourage you to do it. But this company is here to make a buck. The stockholders and the board have not empowered me to give away the company's money. My job is to make sure you have a secure future, and the best way for you to have a secure future is to have a healthy company." Dunlap says he strongly supports individual donations to charity. And in leaving millions of dollars to West Point, his alma mater, in his will he seems to practice what he preaches.

Another frequent charge is that Dunlap leaves companies weaker. "Of the eight troubled outfits he claims to have rescued, six are gone—kaput, finished—sold off, split up, or otherwise wiped out as independent entities," Petzinger writes, but this is misleading. All eight of the firms Dunlap rescued are alive today. Six were sold because Dunlap made them *worth* buying.

A final criticism is that Dunlap is shortsighted. Yet under him, Scott expanded operations (including building new plants) in China, India, and Brazil, tapping into the world's fastest growing consumer markets. These investments will take years to pay off, but will leave the company with a solid brand name and customer base in these dynamic markets. If he hadn't made those investments, the balance sheet would have looked stronger in the short run, but not in the long run. Since expectations of future earnings boost stock prices, it seems that Dunlap's relentless emphasis on boosting the share price has benefited the long-run interests of companies exactly as economists would have predicted.

Dunlap's no-nonsense tour through today's business practices is bracing—and the sign of things to come. As more and more people invest their pensions and paychecks in mutual funds, the pressure on executives to keep the stock price high will intensify. Power will continue to shift from managers to shareholders, from the country estates to the suburbs.

"Chainsaw Al" the press calls Dunlap. Given his record in saving companies and the people who own stock in them, a more enlightened sobriquet might be, "public servant."

Richard Miniter is executive producer of "Enterprising Women," a national weekly radio series that profiles women executives and entrepreneurs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Urban Economist

Relax Regulations to Clean Up Urban Blight

By Sen. Spencer Abraham

Crime, poverty, and general disarray aren't the only obstacles that face anyone hoping to rehabilitate our blighted urban centers. Too often, government rules make it almost impossible to rejuvenate inner cities. Inflexible regulations, the threat of lawsuits, and high costs keep acre after acre of dilapidated buildings untouched—marring the landscape, killing commerce, and driving new business and growth off to the green fields outside cities.

Government environmental policies have proven especially counterproductive. A large proportion of our cities' abandoned properties are environmentally contaminated. And new companies refuse to take over these properties for fear of environmental suits from government and/or private parties. As a result, contamination and joblessness go unaddressed. A survey of Toledo, Ohio, businesses found that environmental worries affected 62 percent of the area's commercial and industrial real estate transactions—almost always hindering job creation and economic development.

Similarly, plans for a $3 million lumber treatment plant in Hammond, Indiana, were abandoned when low levels of contamination were found at the proposed site. The developer concluded that uncertain costs and potential liabilities outweighed the site's benefits—so the city of Hammond lost construction jobs, 75 full-time lumber plant jobs, and any reasonable prospect that a developer would assume the risk of developing property anywhere on the 20-acre site.

In Flint, Michigan, the former site of Thrall Oil Company also sits vacant. Local officials say the property is excellent for manufacturing. Unfortunately, because the Michigan Department of Environmental Quality has labeled it "contaminated," developers cannot be found.

For decades, social engineers in Washington have tried to revitalize distressed areas like these, but the blight remains. Too often, various urban renewal and welfare programs have only made things worse by spawning dependency on government help. Environmental laws intended to force clean-up of contaminated sites have only scared away investors fearful of potentially unlimited liability, including liability for contamination the investors did not cause or even know about.

Federal and state environmental rules have created as many as 30,000 "brownfields" today—urban commercial sites that are essentially undevelopable for environmental reasons. Although not serious threats to public health or safety, legal rules make these properties too financially risky for investment and job creation, creating permanently abandoned blights on the urban landscape. Even investors willing to shoulder the liability are not allowed to write off the cost of cleaning up a brownfield. Instead these costs must be spread over a number of years.

Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.) and I have proposed targeting tax benefits at brownfields in economically distressed areas. We would allow investors to "expense" their clean-up costs immediately, which would have three positive effects. First, by encouraging redevelopment of abandoned sites, these tax incentives will foster economic growth in distressed communities across the country, providing economic opportunity rather than dependence on government.

Second, these tax incentives will significantly improve our ability to clean up contaminated sites. Existing clean-up laws have proved remarkably unsuccessful. With 30,000 brownfields nationwide, we need to start cleaning them now, and we need voluntary private investment to get the job done. Third, this solution, unlike past governmental ones, uses the private sector to reclaim contaminated land and reinvigorate distressed communities. Sen. Lieberman and I have intentionally linked our brownfield provisions to currently designated "enterprise zones"—economically distressed areas the federal government has targeted for special tax and regulatory incentives. In my state of Michigan alone, Flint, Muskegon-Muskegon Heights, Lake County, and Detroit all have been designated enterprise zones. Existing incentives to spur investment and job creation include tax breaks for small businesses, as well as crucial relief for local entrepreneurs from some of the most outlandish federal rules and mandates. By encouraging private investment, rather than trying to buy or force cooperation with government mandates, we can free up private capital and initiative to do the job of revitalizing hard-pressed areas.

These tax incentives would mean foregoing only $1 to $2 billion in federal revenues—an amount easily made up by eliminating wasteful programs such as corporate welfare in the Commerce Department, whose costly efforts to fight urban blight have yielded little. In exchange we will get reinvigorated and re-purified urban land into productive use. With government out of the way and the right incentives in place, good jobs and a clean environment can go together, to everyone's benefit.

Sen. Spencer Abraham (R-Mich.) is a member of the Senate Commerce Committee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INSTANT NATIONAL BESTSELLER

America, 1996. This is your wake-up call.

In his prophetic and unprecedented new book, Robert Bork targets the weakening of intellect, the liberal tyranny of the Supreme Court, the corrosiveness of radical feminism, and more, as he defines a nation on the brink.

"Powerfully persuasive.... Its clarity of vision provides a refreshing contrast to the sound-bite pabulum of the presidential campaign."
—DON FEDER, *Boston Herald*

"A tour de force...a must-read for anyone concerned about the state of American society at the close of the twentieth century."
—RALPH REED, Executive Director, Christian Coalition

"Not only a comprehensive description of our condition; it is a profound analysis of its ideological and historical roots."
—GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB

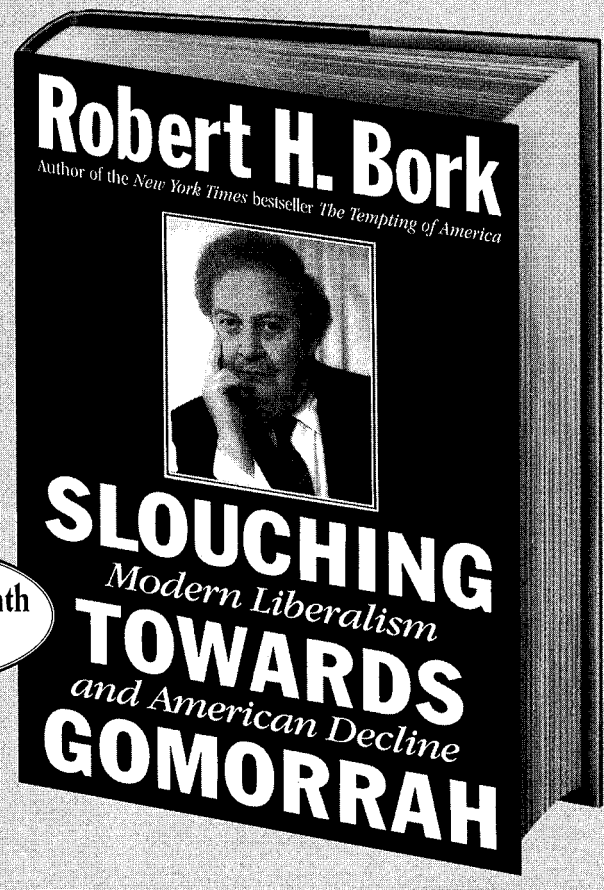
"A brilliant and alarming exploration of the dark side of contemporary American culture."
—DR. WILLIAM J. BENNETT, author of *The Book of Virtues*

"A judge as wise as Solomon has become a prophet as powerful as Isaiah."
—ROBERT P. GEORGE, Princeton University

"May be the most important book of the '90s....A brilliant blend of passionate conviction and sustained argument."
—MICHAEL NOVAK, American Enterprise Institute

"America will ignore Robert Bork's call for courage and repentance at its own peril."
—ERNEST W. LEFEVER, *Books and Culture*

"A gutsy, courageous book....
It will open your eyes."—RUSH LIMBAUGH



Now in its eighth printing

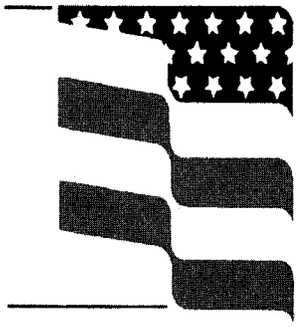
ReganBooks
An Imprint of HarperCollins*Publishers*
http://www.harpercollins.com

DON'T FIDDLE WHILE ROME BURNS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Everyone wants to make a difference.

Here's where you learn how–to make a difference, to win for the people and principles you hold dear:



The Eighth Annual Conservative Leadership Conference

"Conservative Grassroots: A Revolution Comes of Age."

November 21-23, 1996 • Marriott Metro Center • Washington, D.C.

Directors

Morton C. Blackwell
Reed Irvine
Paul Weyrich

Confirmed Speakers Include:

Gov. Mike Huckabee
Grover Norquist
Lt. Col. Oliver North (ret.)
Phyllis Schlafly

1996 Conservative Leadership Conference Sponsors*

• Accuracy in Academia • American Association of Christian Schools • American Conservative Union • *The American Enterprise* • American Family Association • American Life League • Capital Research Center • Eagle Forum • Family Research Council • Free Congress Foundation • Heritage Foundation • Leadership Institute • National Vietnam Veterans Coalition • *Policy Review* • Regent University School of Government • Seniors Coalition • 60 Plus Association • Tradition, Family and Property, Inc. • U.S. Taxpayers Alliance • *Washington Times National Weekly Edition* • *WORLD* magazine

*to date

Learn the latest political technology from the leaders of the conservative movement. Participate in all conference sessions, three receptions, a luncheon and two banquet dinners. Get lots of useful materials. And network with top conservative leaders. **You won't want to miss this conference. Register today. Use coupon below and save $15 off the regular $189 fee.**

For more information or to register, call ***Eric*** *at* ***(800)827-5323****. Or fill out and mail coupon:*

☐ Yes, sign me up for the Conservative Leadership Conference at the discount rate of $174 per ticket.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone: _____ Amount enclosed: _____

1996 Conservative Leadership Conference • Fax: (703) 247-2001
1101 N. Highland Street, Arlington, VA 22201

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Flashback

TO KNOW NOTHING OF WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE YOU WERE BORN IS TO REMAIN EVER A CHILD—*Cicero*

No Litering

UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

At one point in the 1970s, the Federal Highway Administration had a five-year plan to convert all mileage signs on major roads to metric. Public protest forced cancellation of the program.

By now, only withered crones and cowlick hillbillies were supposed to be reckoning in inches and quarts. The rest of America was to have been thoroughly metricized by the 1990s. As Lord Ritchie-Calder, first chairman of the British Metrication Board, told a 1973 U.S. House of Representatives hearing, a metric America "is not only desirable but inevitable; those who do not come in will be out in the cold."

Actually, it's not so chilly out here. For 20 years, recalcitrant Americans have warmed themselves by bonfires made of meter-sticks. We've mercurially rejected Celsius thermometers. The foot has been spared the boot.

The inch, the primary unit of measurement in our customary system, is based on the distance from the end of the middle finger to the first joint; the meter, the fundament of the metric system, is equal to one-ten-millionth of the distance from the equator to the pole. (Or so French scientists believed in 1795; they were wrong.)

One system is based on the human body—literally, a human scale—and the other is the mismeasurement of theoreticians, a "French fad" that has succeeded only "when backed by the policeman's club," as one skeptic put it.

John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, prepared an 1821 report that revealed a certain sympathy for metrics, but he realized that "the power of the legislator is limited over the will and actions of his subjects. His conflict with them is desperate when he counteracts their settled habits, their established usages, their domestic and individual economy, their ignorance, their prejudices, and their wants: all which is unavoidable in the attempt to change...[the] system of weights and measures."

In 1866 the U.S. legalized the use of metric measurements in contracts, but a committee of scientists reported to Congress in 1871 that Frenchmen, especially country people, had resisted the tyranny of meters, and predicted that "the conflict will be fierce in this country, where the people are freer and less habituated to blind obedience to imperial edicts."

Liter-lovers persisted in their efforts to standardize the world. "Voluntary" was not a word in their lexicon. In 1902, the prime congressional sponsor of a metric bill observed of his pet system, "Germany adopted it by compulsory statute of the Reichstag, and I do not see how you can do it any other way."

You can't. The metermen seized their next opportunity during the Cold War. Propagandist Frank Donovan declared, "Adherence to the inch-pound system is handicapping the United States in its conflict with Communism around the world."

Beginning in 1968, a series of laws and executive orders, carrots and sticks, were issued to scuttle the customary system of weights and measures. Defenders of the inch were dismissed as crusty unionists, housewives, and old-timers. Only "the Archie Bunkers in the country" opposed metric, sneered Louis M. Sokol, president of the U.S. Metric Association in 1979. "Working people will be more efficient in using metric units on the job if they also use them in sports [and] hobbies."

But the Archies' victory has been sugary sweet. Football fields are still 100 yards long. And the Galahad of the Holy Meter—Rhode Island Senator Claiborne Pell, whose other wordly interests in ESP, mentalism, and parapsychology make him an odd leader of the hyper-rationalists who insist on cutting off our country's feet—is bidding Congress farewell.

John Quincy Adams saw it coming: the metric lobby of big government, big business, and big science has been no match for the great spontaneous "HELL, NO" of the American people. Maine artist Seaver Leslie called the French system "a language of technocracy and multinational trade," fit perhaps for science and some industries but not for everyday life, and Leslie's side has carried the day. The Federal Highway Administration has ceased from defacing road signs with kilometric distances; and though a 1988 law declared metric to be Uncle Sam's "preferred system of measurement," his nieces and nephews beg to differ.

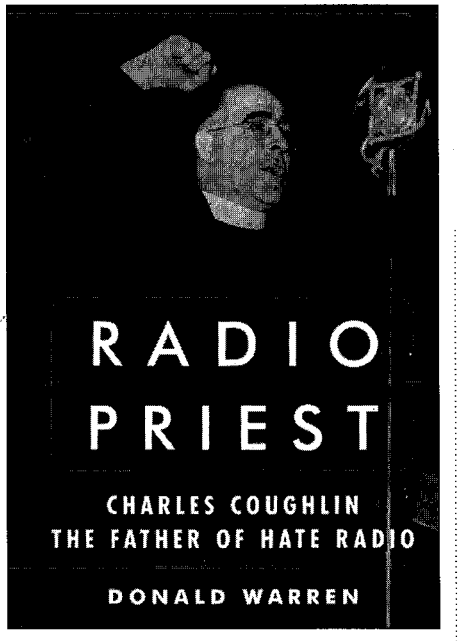
America's antimetrics have fulfilled the prophecy of one merry 19th-century song:

> Then down with every "metric" scheme
> Taught by the foreign school.
> We'll worship still our Father's God!
> And keep our Father's "rule"!
> A perfect inch, a perfect pint,
> The Anglo's honest pound,
> Shall hold their place upon the earth,
> Till time's last trump shall sound!

—*Bill Kauffman*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BookTalk



STATIC ON THE RADIO PRIEST

By John Attarian

Radio Priest: Charles Coughlin, The Father of Hate Radio
By Donald Warren;
Free Press, 364 pages, $27.50.

Desperate times like the Great Depression are fruitful of demagogues. Father Charles Coughlin, the "Radio Priest," was one such. Born in Toronto in 1891, Coughlin was ordained a Catholic priest and joined the Detroit diocese in 1916. In 1926, he established the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak. Gifted with a superb voice, Coughlin began making radio broadcasts, but soon switched his subject from children's catechisms to politics.

In 1928, Coughlin broadcast sermons attacking Socialist Norman Thomas. As the Depression deepened he scourged Communism and international banking, and crusaded for "social justice." Coughlin supported Franklin Roosevelt's 1932 candidacy, telling listeners that America's choice was "Roosevelt or ruin." But he later broke with FDR and blasted the New Deal as statist and collectivist. Seeking to parlay his huge radio following into political clout, he promoted William Lemke's disastrous 1936 third-party candidacy. For reasons still unclear, Coughlin became obsessively anti-Semitic. His broadcasts and newspaper *Social Justice* became stinkpots of anti-Semitism, sympathy for Hitler, and Anglophobia. Coughlin's superiors rebuked, censored, and, in 1940, finally silenced him. *Social Justice* ceased publication in 1942, after a silencing pact between the Church and the government. Coughlin sank into obscurity as a parish priest, retired in 1966, and died in 1979.

This much Oakland University Professor Donald Warren's biography conveys adequately. He excels at describing Coughlin's skillful use of radio, and the maneuvers by government and Church hierarchy to silence him.

But *Radio Priest* has an agenda. Warren seeks to link Coughlin with the Oklahoma City bombing and today's "powerful hate movement—primed by paranoid fears of government control, fed and fostered by talk radio." Warren asserts that Coughlin inspired today's televangelism and political talk radio and "established a precedent for religious figures who would build political movements based on media audiences," such as Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. Clearly, he wants to establish the equation Conservative Radio Host = Coughlin = Hater-Paranoid-Demagogue-Violence-Inciting-Menace.

Yet Warren never shows that today's figures emulate Coughlin, or that today's fear of government is "paranoid." And a certain slapdash and unbalanced quality to *Radio Priest* undercuts the whole enterprise. Trying to discredit Coughlin as a kook, for example, Warren twice quotes him talking about Adam Weishaupt, founder of the secret Order of the Illuminati, which sought a world purged of religious influence. Lunatic-fringe stuff, right? Wrong. In his definitive study of revolutionaries, *Fire in the Minds of Men* (of which Warren shows no awareness), James Billington—Librarian of Congress, impeccable scholar, nobody's crackpot—confirms Coughlin on Weishaupt. And history has justified every syllable of Coughlin's anti-communism and much of his criticism of Roosevelt.

Warren's own grip on facts is questionable in places. He says Coughlin's sister Agnes died at age 18 months. Coughlin's careful biographer Sheldon Marcus puts her age at three months and *Coughlin's* at 18. And he states that "In his last trip to the United States in 1938, [G. K.] Chesterton did some lecturing at Catholic University" lauding Franco as a savior of Western civilization. This must have been an interesting talk, since Chesterton died in 1936.

Worse, questions which biographers naturally explore go unaddressed. What led Coughlin to the priesthood? How true was his faith? Did he say a reverent Mass? Was he a good shepherd to his flock? No answer. Above all, *why was Coughlin anti-Semitic?* What ailed him? I'm still wondering.

Warren's objectivity is suspect. Throughout, he reflexively treats Coughlin as a liar and as guilty until proven innocent. To avoid saying anything nice about Coughlin, he omits two startling revelations by Marcus: Coughlin's purchase, through Social Justice Publishing Company, of $25,000 in Defense Bonds during World War II, and his purchase of—yes!—$500 in Israel Bonds in 1955.

Radio Priest suffers from comparison with Marcus's *Father Coughlin* and Charles Tull's valuable *Father Coughlin and the New Deal.* Marcus and Tull provide far more copious excerpts of Coughlin's broadcasts and *Social Justice* editorials. Warren merely asserts that "Some of Coughlin's writings followed speeches of Joseph Goebbels word for word." Marcus proves it by presenting excerpts of both. Marcus and Tull offer extensive critical evaluations of Coughlin.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Warren just asserts Coughlin's "paranoia," and wastes much space that could have been spent illuminating Coughlin's mind on marginal matters like Father Alexi Pelypenko, who wrote (and peddled for money) an affidavit stating that Coughlin was financed by Hitler.

Not to whitewash the Radio Priest. His anti-Semitism was abominable. *Social Justice* was often a horror. But even Charlie Coughlin deserves scrupulous, balanced criticism—which is ultimately more effective than partisan muckraking.

John Attarian is a free-lance writer in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

CASEY AT THE MAT

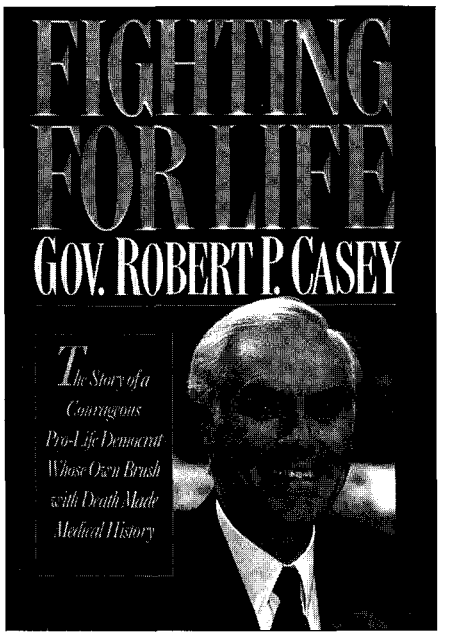
By Robert P. George

Fighting for Life
By Robert P. Casey;
Word Publishing, 255 pages, $21.99

In autumn 1986, Pennsylvania gubernatorial candidate Robert P. Casey was fighting for his political life. A pro-life Democrat whose father had been a "mule boy" in the anthracite coal mines of eastern Pennsylvania, Casey was locked in a tight contest with William Scranton, a wealthy pro-choice Republican whose patrician father had been the state's governor. Although Casey had served as Auditor General, he had thrice been defeated in other bids for statewide office, earning him the unflattering sobriquet "the three-time loss from Holy Cross." A fourth defeat would end his political career.

With the help of an obscure and up-til-then consistently unsuccessful Democratic campaign operator from Louisiana named James Carville, Casey ran a bruising race against Scranton. To the surprise of the state's political and journalistic establishments, Casey's conservative populist message resonated with the public and he pulled off a stunning upset.

As governor, Casey stood firmly for traditional virtues and combined fiscal frugality with a manifest concern for the interests of working families and the poor. He aggressively encouraged local entrepreneurship in Pennsylvania's recession-ravaged industrial cities, often gaining



enthusiastic support from Republicans as well as his fellow Democrats.

In 1990, seeking a second term in a race against a well-financed pro-choice Republican challenger, Casey was targeted by a newly energized abortion-rights movement and written off by pundits who insisted that "pro-life is a loser." In the event, Casey was re-elected in the largest landslide in Pennsylvania's history, carrying 66 of 67 counties, including heavily Republican Lancaster County, which no Democratic gubernatorial candidate had carried since Reconstruction.

Early in his second term, however, tragedy struck. The popular governor grew gravely ill with a rare and usually fatal disease called amyloidosis. In no merely figurative sense, Casey was fighting for life. In a last-ditch play for survival, he underwent a rare heart-and-liver transplant. Once again surprising everyone, Casey not only survived but within six months resumed the governorship, working vigorously to the end of his term.

In 1994, Casey's last year in office, Democrats in general and incumbents in particular found themselves deeply out of favor with an angry public. In November, Democratic incumbents were devastated in elections around the country. Casey, however, who was barred by the state constitution from seeking a third term, left office with a statewide approval rating approaching 70 percent. The *New York Times* called him a "folk hero."

Two years earlier, Casey had come to national attention when, despite his popularity in the nation's fifth most populous state, he was banned from speaking at the Democratic National Convention because of his pro-life views and, allegedly, for his criticism of Bill Clinton. In this powerful autobiography, Casey makes the argument he would have confronted his party with had he been permitted to speak: Democrats betray their historic commitment to protecting the weakest and most vulnerable members of the community when they abandon the unborn to abortion. The policy of abortion-on-demand, originally imposed by the Supreme Court and now endorsed by the Democratic establishment, has been a tragedy not only for the unborn but for women, for families, and for the nation. Its only beneficiaries have been irresponsible—often predatory—men, and a callous abortion industry prepared to profit from the desperation of women.

Casey still insists on carrying on the "fight for life" within the Democratic Party. As a former Democrat myself (and one who has in various capacities associated himself with Casey's efforts), I doubt whether this struggle is any longer tenable. While a few dozen pro-life Democrats remain in Congress, they are a dwindling, if not endangered, species. Moreover, their party exhibits little of the "tolerance" which liberals demand for Republicans who dissent from the official GOP position on abortion. Pro-life Democrats are, for example, excluded from appointment to key committees on which their pro-life stands might make a difference.

Casey responds to calls for him to leave the Democratic Party by observing that the Republicans, while officially pro-life, seem determined to avoid the issue rather than risk conflict with an influential pro-choice minority. True, but hardly compelling. If the GOP is a weak friend to the unborn, the Democratic Party has made itself their enemy—refusing to countenance even the prohibition of grisly partial-birth abortions.

In an age when political autobiographies range from the vengeful to the merely self-serving, it is refreshing to read the reflections of a politician whose ambitions—and Casey has always been ambitious—are both inspired and tempered by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a manifestly sincere commitment to justice and the common good. That such a person achieved electoral success in the era of focus-group politics should give an increasingly alienated public ground for hope.

Robert P. George is associate professor of politics at Princeton University and author of Making Men Moral: Civil Liberties and Public Morality.

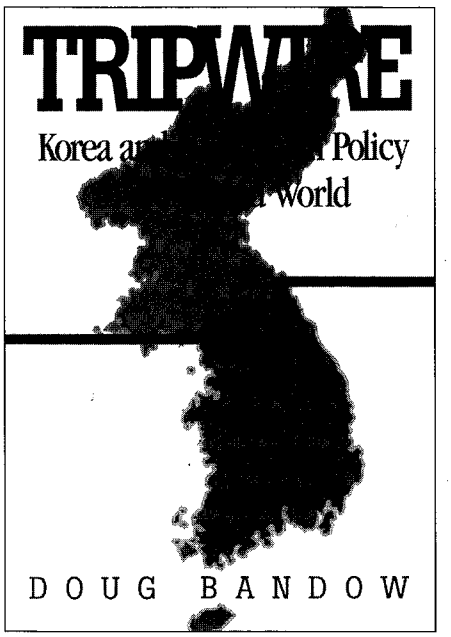
WHOSE SEOUL?

By Tom Switzer

Tripwire: Korea and U.S. Foreign Policy in a Changed World
By Doug Bandow;
Cato Institute, 255 pages, $19.95

Should the United States maintain a large military presence in Korea and throughout the rest of East Asia 43 years after the end of the Korean War and six years after the end of the Cold War? Well, last year the Pentagon endorsed "a stable forward presence in the region, at the existing level of about 100,000 troops, for the foreseeable future." President Clinton has likewise reaffirmed America's "essential" military commitments in the region, while Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole has firmly opposed calls for America's military withdrawal from Asia.

To which Doug Bandow of the Cato Institute replies: Smell the coffee. With the collapse of Soviet communism, he argues, no geopolitical power threatens the region or U.S. interests there. Rather than look for another enemy to justify antiquated policies, the United States should return to a much narrower view of the national interest and distance itself from formerly close allies. No alliance is more in need of this redefinition, Bandow argues, than America's relationship with South Korea, a nation where 37,000 U.S. troops still act as a deterrent against an attack from Pyongyang. America's presence on the Demilitarized Zone amounts to a tripwire that leaves U.S. troops hostage to events they cannot control. Bandow adds that we no longer have any reason to intervene in a Korean civil war because no vital interests are at stake and because the balance of power between South and



North Korea has changed dramatically.

The South has twice the population and nearly 18 times the productive power of the North, similar to America's advantage over Mexico. It enjoys greater access to international markets, a vast technological lead, and has even earned diplomatic recognition from both of the North's allies: Moscow, with whom Seoul is developing a military relationship; and Beijing, who trades far more with Seoul than with Pyongyang. Yet Washington still subsidizes and guarantees the security of the South, which is fully capable of its own defense but prefers to invest its resources in economic growth.

Washington should terminate the Mutual Security Treaty and withdraw all troops from South Korea within four years, Bandow writes, because America's economic reconstruction and defense guarantee have made South Korea one of the major powers in the region, and major powers surely should be able to defend themselves. Besides, every U.S. troop reduction or proposed reduction in the Nixon and Carter years led to increased South Korean defense efforts.

U.S. withdrawal from the Korean peninsula, Bandow maintains, should be a precursor for total U.S. withdrawal from Asia. "Seoul, Manila, Singapore, Tokyo, and others in East Asia will probably still want the United States to be prepared to fight to the last American for them," says Bandow, but "U.S. soldiers' lives are not gambit pawns to be sacrificed in some global chess game."

Tripwire is more thought-provoking than anything most of our leaders have said about U.S. foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. For too long, the United States has been exercising a friendly hegemony over Asia. And Bandow rightly notes that a U.S. government that is assertive abroad is unlikely to submit willingly to diminishment at home, thereby frustrating efforts to shrink the federal Leviathan and its hunger for tax dollars.

But Bandow's call for an indiscriminate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Asia does not in the end persuade. He justifies total disengagement partly on the basis of the benign regional environment. But of course the Asian states have been peaceful while their securities have been guaranteed by a friendly America. Unlike the European nations, the Asian powers have never formed a defense pact simply because they consider each other strategic rivals. It's not just Japan and China who see each other as serious threats, but also Korea, Russia, Pakistan, India, Vietnam, and Indonesia, to name only a few. The proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction in Asia is also disturbing. Were the United States to withdraw completely from the region, the likelihood of conflict would increase.

Surprisingly, despite his passion for free trade, Bandow does not mention APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation)—the NAFTA of Asia. But if Washington wants to encourage trade liberalization with the East Asian nations, then broader security concerns should be addressed. As former Assistant Secretary of Defense Joseph Nye has argued, U.S. troops in Asia provide the "oxygen" that allows the region's booming economy to "breathe." Trade is interwoven with security.

True, America should not set itself up as "boss" of Asia, and Cold War allies like South Korea and Japan should be encouraged to take more responsibility for their own defense. But total U.S. withdrawal would be irresponsible. It is definitely not in America's interest for East Asia to return to old hostilities or to become a closed trading region. Washington should chart a balanced course between the extremes of the "Pax Americana" status quo and Bandow's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"strategic independence." Rather than dominate Asia, or simply withdraw, the United States should maintain a presence in the region and play a balancing role in the realist tradition of power politics.

Tom Switzer is assistant editor of The American Enterprise.

HAPPY DAYS AREN'T HERE AGAIN

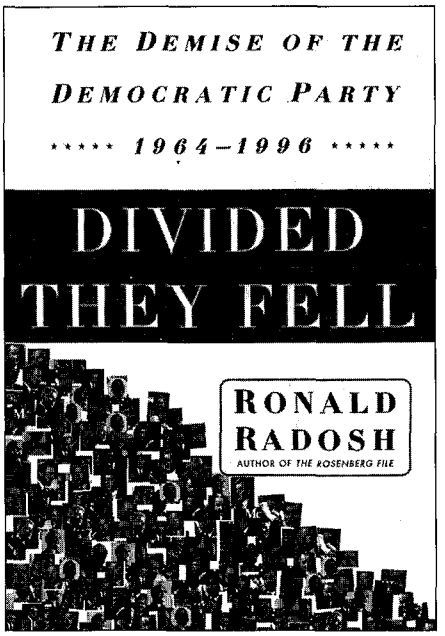
By Martin Morse Wooster

Divided They Fell: The Demise of the Democratic Party, 1964-1996
By Ronald Radosh;
Free Press, 240 pages, $25

When Lyndon Johnson was sworn in as President in January 1965, the Democratic Party appeared to be as powerful as it had been in the age of FDR. Barry Goldwater had suffered the worst defeat by a Republican presidential candidate since Alf Landon's shellacking in 1936, and voters also sent a record number of Democrats to the House and Senate. Thoughtful observers predicted that the Democrats would continue their dominance of American political life for decades.

But 1964 was to be the only decisive presidential victory the Democrats have had since FDR's day. Since then, the Democrats have been in steady decline. They can still narrowly elect presidents when the Republican presidential candidate is weak or Republicans are divided. But if Democrats prominent in 1964 appeared to care about the common man, today's Democrats are a loose amalgamation of welfare recipients, teachers, trial lawyers, feminists, greens, and Hollywood celebrities whose only common bond is a government subsidy or a desire to use the state to punish their rivals.

The Democrats' decline is an interesting story that has never been told adequately. Ronald Radosh is certainly qualified to do that. He's an independent historian whose previous books have told truths that have made liberals uncomfortable. For example, in *Prophets on the Right*, he analyzed how conservative critics of internationalism in the 1940s and '50s were smart, interesting people whose views ought to be better known. And in



The Rosenberg File and *The Amerasia Spy Case,* he showed that communist spies really did threaten our national security. These truths have caused Radosh to be condemned as politically incorrect by the Left and celebrated as an iconoclast by others. Unfortunately, *Divided They Fell* is one of Radosh's weaker books, for he offers an incomplete analysis of the Democrats' deterioration.

Divided They Fell divides neatly into two halves. The first 182 pages cover the years between 1964 and 1972, while the remaining 58 pages sketchily cover the remaining 24 years. Radosh's heroes are the moderate Democrats who were to become neoconservatives. He argues that the Democrats began to decline when radicals decided to stop picking on Republicans and started fighting liberals instead. In his view, the cracks in the New Deal coalition began to widen each time the schismatic radicals launched a protest or denounced a more moderate leader, such as President Lyndon Johnson or Vice President Hubert Humphrey. When these radicals in 1972 rejected the presidential candidacy of Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson and chose Sen. George McGovern instead, Radosh argues, the Left led the Democrats into the wilderness, where they have remained ever since. "Scoop Jackson was, in retrospect, the very last of the old mainstream Democrats," Radosh writes. "He fought hard to hold together an eroding center, and he went down to defeat."

Radosh's argument is interesting, but misleading. It's true that the debate between liberal and leftist Democrats was important, but both sides nonetheless remain part of the Democratic coalition. Their debate was primarily over foreign policy, not domestic, and so Radosh's analysis neglects President Johnson's substantial expansion of the welfare state.

The fissures that ensure that the Democrats are America's minority party are not between leftist and centrist Democrats, but between the center-left and the right of the Democratic Party. Radosh has nothing to say about the gradual disillusionment of socially conservative, pro-life Catholics with the Democratic Party, even though this group, "Reagan Democrats" of the 1980s, are now an important part of any winning Republican coalition. His discussion of the very divisive debates among Democrats over civil rights is also inadequate. *Divided They Fell* would be a far more interesting book if Radosh spent less space discussing arcane feuds among New Left activists and more space showing how the South became a Republican stronghold.

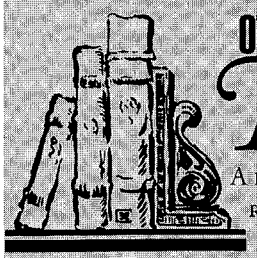
Moreover, Radosh devotes very little space to the rise of neoliberalism. He dismisses Gary Hart's presidential campaigns in two sentences, although Hart, before toppled by sexual peccadilloes, was the first Democrat who realized that the party's reflexive support for the welfare state had to be recast if the party was to thrive. Because Hart pioneered ideas that ultimately led the so-called New Democrats to victory, he is a more important figure in political history than Scoop Jackson.

Radosh also scants the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) and its allied think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute. These two groups helped Bill Clinton formulate the ideas that ensured he could present himself as a "New Democrat," and not another tired old liberal. But Radosh only devotes three pages to the DLC.

The intellectual history of the Democratic Party is a topic that remains available for another dispassionate historian.

Associate editor Martin Morse Wooster loves his family, even if they are all Democrats.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



off The Shelf

A REGULAR REVIEW OF CLASSIC, OVER-LOOKED, NEWLY RELEVANT, OR OTHERWISE DESERVING OLDER BOOKS

A GRAND PLAN FOR DECENTRALISM

By John McClaughry

Decentralize for Liberty
By Thomas Hewes; Dutton, 1945

Once upon a time, so the legend goes, in the fair land called America, there was a Golden Age. The bulk of the people of the land were independent, liberty-loving, home-owning proprietors, dispersed in small communities throughout hill and vale, dwelling close to the soil, trading with hard money, and peacefully creating, producing, and helping each other out. But alas, this happy condition did not last. Sinister forces assaulted this arcadian paradise, destroyed the free and prosperous economic competition, concentrated the population in ever larger and more squalid cities, and forced upon the hapless citizens all of the manifold evils of that iniquitous condition called Centralization. First invention, finance capital, and industrialization gave birth to powerful and oppressive Big Business, clustered in ugly urban knots around the country. Costly and meddlesome Big Government arose to control its evils. And finally, in a misbegotten attempt to balance Big Business's power, Big Government passed laws creating Big Labor.

This baneful trend toward centralization of power has been the complaint of many American thinkers, a roster which by 1945 came to include Thomas Hewes. By the time he set pen to paper for his first and only book, Hewes had had a long and moderately distinguished career. He earned his law degree from Yale in 1912. After a two-year term in the Connecticut legislature and service in World War I, he settled into the life of a civically hyperactive business lawyer.

Hewes served on countless state and bar association commissions for the advancement of good government, and was tapped by the incoming Roosevelt administration to be assistant secretary of the Treasury. After a year in that post he moved to the State Department, serving for two years as Cordell Hull's special assistant. During World War II he held more appointive positions.

From all of this experience, he was to write, came "his deep persuasion of the egregious folly of the people looking to government for their personal economic security, the deadly and insidious parasitism of bureaucracy, the appalling confusion of centralized administration, and a more particularized appreciation of money, foreign trade, and the practical inutility of government control in the economic field as an instrument of individual welfare."

Much of *Decentralize for Liberty* is a passionate attack on the stultifying hand of bureaucracy, the crushing of competition by giant businesses, and all sorts of statist nostrums concocted to deal with the effects of centralization. The solution to these problems, Hewes divined, is simple. Since the problem is centralization, the solution is decentralization. "If decentralization were a complicated thing, it would not work.... Decentralization requires no great bureaucracy or involved statutes or large expenditures or armies to make it work. It needs just the desire to cooperate."

Cooperate at what? First we simply "create and enforce a really free market; that having done this we start a full flow of energy by making it worth while for each of us to take hold. We do this by cutting taxes to a minimum and by establishing a sound dollar; we open up so far as may be in our power, the free flow of foreign commerce; we implement the economic plan by a drastic cut-back in the federal government both because it will reduce taxes and remove another type of over-concentration; to loosen up concentrations of people and release energy we take practical steps to induce a spreading out into less thickly settled sections, and finally we argue that in assuming personal responsibility for such a plan we become part and parcel of a movement which will put an end to personal doubt, bewilderment, and drifting and engage ourselves in the greatest struggle facing mankind today." Whew!

Of course, Hewes concedes that more is required than merely announcing the remedy. The bulk of his book provides detailed steps for decentralizing. And as so often happens with those who seize upon Hamiltonian means to achieve Jeffersonian ends, the solution becomes a parody of the problem.

For among Hewes's techniques we find an astonishing array of new governmental institutions. There is a federal Department of Economics, sort of a super Federal Trade Commission charged with making sure that America's businesses operate within their assigned purposes. There is an Economic Court, with divisions in each of the 48 states, to "enforce the free market." A Debt Commission of unpaid members would formulate for Congress "a comprehensive and dynamic scheme" for eliminating the national debt, including a "typical American door-to-door campaign" to persuade holders of U.S. government debt to turn it in for cancellation, or at least exchange it for non-interest bearing bonds. Page after page of such proposals is capped by a denunciation of Rooseveltian economic planners who are "lending lip service to the individual and his welfare under a free constitution while at the same time zealously espousing salvation through government." In all this Hewes combines decentralist philosophy with regrettable centralizing proposals like those later put forth by Hubert Humphrey, John Connally, Nelson Rockefeller, and Ira Magaziner.

What is of value to us today in Hewes' schizoid advocacy of aggressive government action to save the American dream from too much centralization? *Decentralize for Liberty* clearly illustrates the difficulty of achieving a worthy goal—reversing economic, political, and social centralization—by creating coercive new institutions of centralized power. Alas, there is little reason to believe, in 1945 or in 1996, that such a strategy will do anything more than trade in old evils for new, possibly even worse, ones.

John McClaughry is president of the Ethan Allen Institute in Vermont.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITED BY MARTIN MORSE WOOSTER

the Digest

SUMMARIES OF IMPORTANT NEW RESEARCH FROM THE NATION'S UNIVERSITIES, THINK TANKS, AND INVESTIGATIVE PUBLICATIONS

POLITICS

The Second Coming of Religious Conservatives

Mark J. Rozell and Clyde Wilcox, "Second Coming: The Strategies of the New Christian Right," in Political Science Quarterly *(Summer 1996), Academy of Political Science, 475 Riverside Drive, #1274, New York, New York 10115.*

Today the "Religious Right" is one of the most successful parts of the Republican coalition, but a decade ago, Christian political groups were far less effective. The once-potent Moral Majority, for example, went out of existence in 1987, and the political activities of Rev. Pat Robertson were ineffectual until the Christian Coalition was established in 1989.

What caused Christian groups to gain clout? Rozell of the University of Virginia and Wilcox of Georgetown University argue that the Christian advance is largely due to improvements in coalition-building. In the 1980s, Christian groups often were reluctant to form alliances: The Moral Majority was mostly a Baptist organization that often disdained other Christians, including other Protestant evangelical denominations; and Christian groups often refused to compromise on core issues. By insisting that their candidates should support bans on abortions, for example, pro-life groups often lost elections to candidates backed by pro-choice groups more willing to make compromises. Some Christian groups even declared that their ideological foes were tools of Satan.

In the 1990s, religious conservatives have been more flexible—and more successful. Evangelical Protestants routinely form alliances with Catholics, Jews, Muslims, and Mormons; and Christian Coalition lobbyists in Washington include Orthodox Christians and Jews. They've helped elect Republican candidates, such as Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Tex.) and Sen. Paul Coverdell (R-Ga.), who call for restricting but not banning abortion. And they've increasingly focused on issues, such as lowering taxes and fighting crime, that appeal to non-religious conservatives.

Rozell and Wilcox argue that it's too early to tell if moderation will be the key to electoral victories for religious conservatives. They note that in Virginia, despite intensive evangelical support, Michael Farris still lost the lieutenant governorship in 1993, and Oliver North was defeated for the Senate in 1994. But they observe that Democratic strategists are confused by Christian moderation. "Democrats who have successfully linked Christian Right candidates with Falwell and Robertson in past campaigns," they write, "now worry that these new efforts to mainstream the message will make Christian Right candidates more formidable."

Why Frontiers Won't Matter

Richard Rosecrance, "The Rise of the Virtual State," in Foreign Affairs *(July/August 1996), Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, New York 10021.*

The rise of the multinational enterprise has led many to observe that these global businesses are "virtual corporations" not rooted in any particular nation. Rosecrance, a political scientist at the University of California (Los Angeles), points out an interesting parallel trend—the growth of what he calls "virtual states," high-tech nations that will cause traditional notions of international relations to be revised.

For example, it's long been said that nations go to war to gain wealth through conquest of land. But these "timeworn methods of augmenting national power and wealth," he argues, "are no longer effective." Land, and the natural resources that come from land, have steadily fallen in value in recent decades. And the ease of shifting capital across borders greatly reduces the value of the assets conquerors can seize. When Iraqi forces stormed into Kuwait in 1990, they found that the Bank of Kuwait had shifted the nation's assets overseas, ensuring that Kuwaiti wealth could be used to free their nation from Iraqi tyranny.

In the twenty-first century, Rosecrance argues, the model for a successful nation will not be a great empire, but such flexible, wealth-generating city-states as Hong Kong and Singapore,who seek not to "excel in all economic functions" but to specialize instead. Their factories may well be in other

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

countries. Hong Kong industrialists have built scores of plants in China, and 98 percent of production at Nestlé, the largest Swiss firm, now occurs outside Switzerland.

With the devaluation of land, Rosecrance contends, war will become less likely, and the odds of a crisis resulting from a shortage of natural resources will fall, since new products will emerge much as petroleum replaced whale oil in the nineteenth century.

ECONOMICS

Zoning Rights and Wrongs

George W. Liebmann, "Modernization of Zoning: A Means to Reform," in Regulation *(Number 2, 1996), Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.*

In most of America, zoning has been enforced for over 60 years. But for the average American homeowner, a zoning board's ban on building a garage or expanding a house often seems arbitrary. Why is zoning in the U.S. such a red-tape generator? Liebmann, an author and attorney, argues that zoning's problems stem from the failure of American planners to be flexible.

Zoning became common here in the 1920s, when American planners adapted German controls on land use. But while Germans created zoning to govern land use across entire regions, Americans made land-use regulation apply to individual homes. Thus while Germany limits population density by limiting the number of homes built on an acre, German planners impose no restrictions on where or how the homes are built. In America, by contrast, population density is limited by requiring government approval any time a home is expanded or altered.

To make zoning more flexible, Liebmann suggests a series of reforms:

• *Eliminate all requirements on the sizes of lots and yards.* Imposing German-style population density ceilings would be better than micro-managing every piece of property in the U.S. In addition, bans on accessory apartments and duplex homes should be eliminated, so that parents can live near their children.

• *Allow more small businesses to be established in residential areas.* Currently, planners frown on "mixed-use" developments, and so force homeowners to drive miles to shopping centers if they want to buy milk or go out for dinner. In addition, tenants' organizations might be given the authority to allow businesses to enter a neighborhood if residents approve.

• *Curb the use of transfer taxes.* Most states impose a 2 to 3 percent tax every time a home is sold, and use the money to buy or improve park land. But in many areas, no land is available for new parks. Why should an inner-city homeowner be taxed so that residents of distant suburbs can have new parks?

"Desirable development is best fostered by predictability and certainty in the law," Liebmann writes, "and not by further movement toward a system of discretionary planning permission."

Turn off the Department of Energy

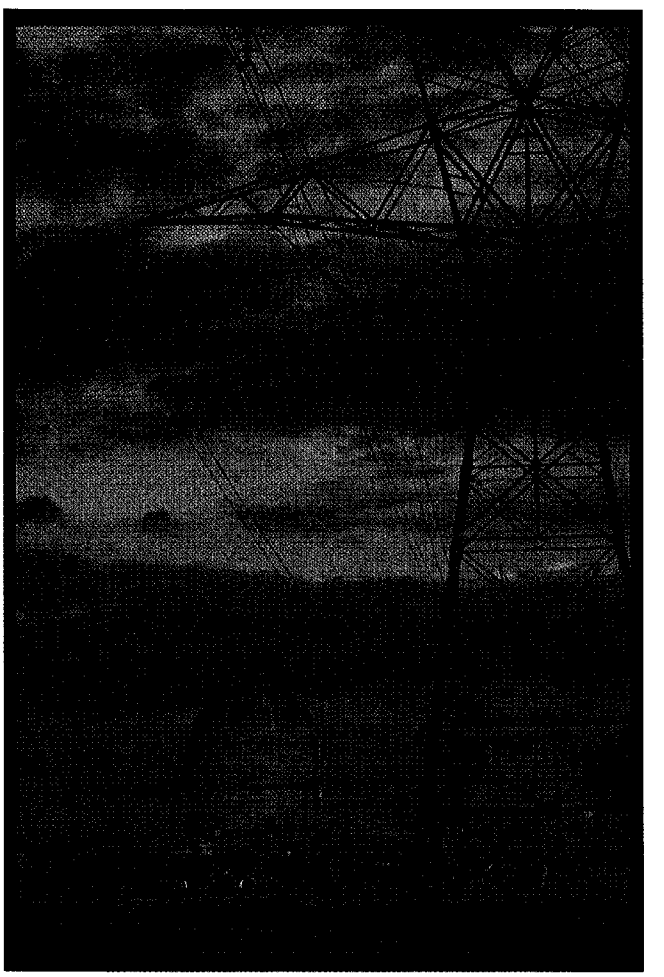
Irwin M. Stelzer with Robert Patton, The Department of Energy: An Agency That Cannot Be Reinvented. *AEI Press, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036*

It's been nearly two decades since the oil shortages in the 1970s prompted Congress to create the Department of Energy (DOE). But Stelzer and Patton of the American Enterprise Institute argue that most of DOE's activities are either wasteful or unrelated to government. Perhaps the most important part of DOE is the Office of Environmental Management, charged with cleaning up nuclear waste, which consumes one third of the department's budget.

Many observers argue that the government contracts involved are inefficient and wasteful. In 1993, for example, the National Performance Review (supervised by Vice President Al Gore) argued that as much as 35 percent of the office's budget was wasted on unnecessary contracts. A 1995 General Accounting Office report charged that much of the $1.5 billion spent each year cleaning up nuclear contamination in Hanford, Washington, is "squandered," and that almost no aspect of the current program "can withstand close scrutiny."

The Department of Energy also supervises several national laboratories. Some are useful, but much of the research is thinly disguised corporate welfare. A *Philadelphia Inquirer* investigation found that recent activities included developing suntan lotion, maintaining the assembly line for Dove ice cream bars, and improving the fireworks at Walt Disney World.

The DOE also runs several businesses that directly compete with private firms. The department's five power marketing administrations currently produce 6 percent of America's electricity. The department



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also runs six oil fields, including one of the ten largest oil fields in the continental U.S.

Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary has made some progress in reducing her agency. The Alaska Power Marketing Administration has been privatized, and the Elk Hills Naval Reserve is scheduled to become private in 1998. But Stelzer calls for more privatization, including selling all the department's power companies and oil fields and auctioning the rights to some research contracts to private bidders. He contends that the parts of DOE that should remain in government would be more productive if the department no longer existed. "The Department of Energy should be abolished," he writes, "some of its functions eliminated, some privatized, some transferred to other agencies."

State Regulation Hurts Women

Sheila A. Moloney, "The Lady in Red Tape," in Policy Review *(September/October 1996), Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.*

More and more women are finding that entrepreneurship is the key to economic freedom. The National Foundation for Women Business Owners reports that one-third of America's businesses are now headed by women and that these 8 million enterprises will employ over 18 million people and generate sales of over $2 trillion in 1996. These women, *Policy Review*'s Moloney observes, are increasingly finding that government blocks their path to success. A "rising number of women business owners," she reports, "are being beaten down by Washington's overbearing laws, inflexible regulations, and arcane tax policies."

For example, Virginia entrepreneur Tanya Wallace created Toddlin' Time, a company that provided places for preschoolers to play and for mothers to socialize. But after setting up ten franchises she ran afoul of the Federal Trade Commission, which required her to comply with the same paperwork as large franchisers. Faced with fees of $4,000 per franchise, Wallace had no choice but to shut down.

Judy Hooper, owner of Judy's Bakery in Evanston, Illinois, was fined $13,000 by the Occupational Health and Safety Administration for such crimes as not labeling bleach and dishwashing detergent as hazardous chemicals and failing to have an accident log, even though the firm never had an accident.

Karla and Richard Hauk, for example, thought they had complied with the Americans with Disabilities Act when they opened their one-story Days Inn franchise in Wall, South Dakota. Because they placed a whirlpool in the motel basement, however, the Justice Department declared the motel a "multi-story facility" and ordered the Hauks to install an elevator for up to four times the motel's annual profits.

Moloney suggests that if government wants to support women, a good place to begin is by making regulations against small business less punitive. For the ceiling many women face, she contends, "isn't made of glass—it's made of red tape."

SOCIETY

A Tarnished Moment

Richard E. Morgan, "Coming Clean About Brown," *in* City Journal *(Summer 1996), Manhattan Institute, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, New York 10017.*

The Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* mandated school desegregation and was widely applauded. But Morgan, a Bowdoin College professor of government, suggests that *Brown* be reconsidered because of the way it has legitimated judicial activism.

Brown was badly decided for several reasons, he argues. First, there is no evidence the drafters of the Fourteenth Amendment ever thought it would be used, as it was in *Brown,* to outlaw school segregation. He cites Rutgers University law professor Earl Maltz, who insists that the Amendment was only intended to protect the rights to acquire property, to enter into contracts, and to receive equal protection under criminal law. In this view, the laws governing public education are a state matter not covered under the Fourteenth Amendment. However odious public school segregation might have been, Morgan believes, it was nonetheless constitutional.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, he adds, knew there was no constitutional precedent for banning public school segregation. His reasoning for providing the crucial fifth vote to the *Brown* majority was not based on legal precedent, but on since-discredited social science studies, which purported to show that black children suffered psychological harm if they attended segregated schools. By abandoning the law, Morgan believes that Chief Justice Warren claimed "the authority to revise the meaning of the Constitution based on an assertedly better understanding of the values involved and the way things worked in the contemporary world."

But there is evidence that race relations would have improved without *Brown.* Segregation had helped ensure that the South was the least developed region of the country, and over the long haul, Morgan believes, enlightened Southerners would have worked to end discrimination in order to make their region more prosperous. "*Brown*, by dramatically increasing racial tension in the South, froze progress, at least in that region," Morgan writes, and so the violent battles it prompted may have done more harm than good.

Ultimately it was Congress, through the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1966 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, that ended segregation. And so *Brown*'s true legacy, says Morgan, was to ensure that a judge would think of himself as a "social engineer, accommodator of social change, adjuster of mores"—and not as an interpreter of the Constitution.

Check Your Weapon at the Door

Richard Dahl, "Packing Heat," in ABA Journal *(August 1996), American Bar Association, 750 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60611.*

Americans have long been used to no-parking and no-smoking zones. But now they may face a new ban: the no-gun zone. Thirty-one states have enacted "concealed-carry" or "shall-issue" laws allowing people to obtain a license to carry a hidden weapon. But states, counties, cities, and businesses are fighting back by demanding that certain areas remain gun-free, Dahl reports. The debate over which areas will be free of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

firearms, he predicts, will be a long and protracted one.

Most of the time, concealed-carry laws already prohibit people from bringing weapons into courtrooms, police stations, jails, liquor stores, and places where government bodies meet. But that still leaves plenty of ambiguity in the law. In Texas, a concealed-carry law bans guns from municipal buildings but specifically allows firearms in state parks. The law says nothing about county parks; so some counties allow weapons in their parks and some do not.

Other public areas are also subject to debate over weapons policies. Salt Lake City attempted to ban firearms in city libraries, but the Utah Shooting Sports Council (an affiliate of the National Rifle Association) successfully overturned the ban, arguing that the law prohibited the discharge, but not the carrying, of firearms in libraries. The Council is currently trying to overturn a ban on firearms in non-restricted areas of Utah airports, arguing that the prohibition would restrict hunters from checking weapons as part of their luggage.

Bans by private employers on weapons will also be the subject of litigation. What sort of liability would an employer face if he imposed a no-gun zone in his office? Could a woman assaulted in a no-gun zone successfully sue her boss by claiming she would have been protected if she had been able to carry a weapon? Would armed criminals be more likely to rob no-gun zones than they would places where customers could protect themselves? It may be years, Dahl foresees, before these questions are answered.

Feminism vs. Free Speech

Michael Weiss and Cathy Young, Feminist Jurisprudence: Equal Rights or Neo-Paternalism? *Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.*

Radical feminist legal scholars have been strikingly successful at rewriting America's laws, but according to Texas Public Policy Foundation fellow Weiss and *Detroit News* columnist Young argue that they have done severe damage to America's legal system. Radical feminists want to undermine the law because they believe "such key concepts of Western jurisprudence as judicial neutrality and individual rights" are "patriarchal fictions designed to protect male privilege."

Radical feminists are changing the law in several ways:

• *Sexual harassment.* Courts are increasingly accepting the National Organization of Women's definition of sexual harassment as unwanted sexual advances or "sexually discriminatory remarks that cause the recipient discomfort or humiliation." But Weiss and Young argue that defining sexual harassment as any action that might cause "discomfort" to a "reasonable woman" establishes an unconstitutionally vague standard, analogous to replacing a speed limit with a law fining anyone who drove through a neighborhood "at any speed which made some of its residents uncomfortable." Sexual harassment is increasingly being defined as incorrect speech, and children are also being covered under sexual harassment laws. Minnesota, for example, defines sexual harassment as beginning in kindergarten, and in one recent school year, 1,000 children were suspended or expelled from Minneapolis schools on sexual harassment charges.

• *Stalking.* Anti-stalking laws now punish such odious behavior as sending an ex-girlfriend flowers or calling her at odd hours with prison terms of up to five years. On the other hand, some judges believe that laws broadly prohibiting any behavior that causes "emotional distress" are unconstitutionally vague. A Florida judge recently struck down the state's anti-stalking law, charging that recalcitrant sources would use the law to sue reporters they wished to avoid.

• *Battered-woman syndrome.* Women are increasingly using "battered-woman syndrome" defenses to receive light sentences for violent crimes. After Marlene Wagshall of Brooklyn found a photo of her spouse with another woman, she shot her sleeping husband in the stomach, causing him to lose parts of his stomach, liver, and upper intestine. Though unable to provide evidence that her husband physically abused her, she was sentenced to one day in jail and five years' probation. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, women who kill their husbands serve an average of six years in prison, while husbands who murder their wives serve an average of 17 years in jail.

Weiss and Young conclude that the effort to use the courts "to abolish male privilege while preserving and expanding female privilege is likely to create the very backlash feminists fear. Moreover, most women do not want their brothers, husbands, or sons to live under a legal system that presumes them guilty; nor do they believe that sex is rape, freedom is a male plot, and an abused woman can be her own judge, jury, and executioner."

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

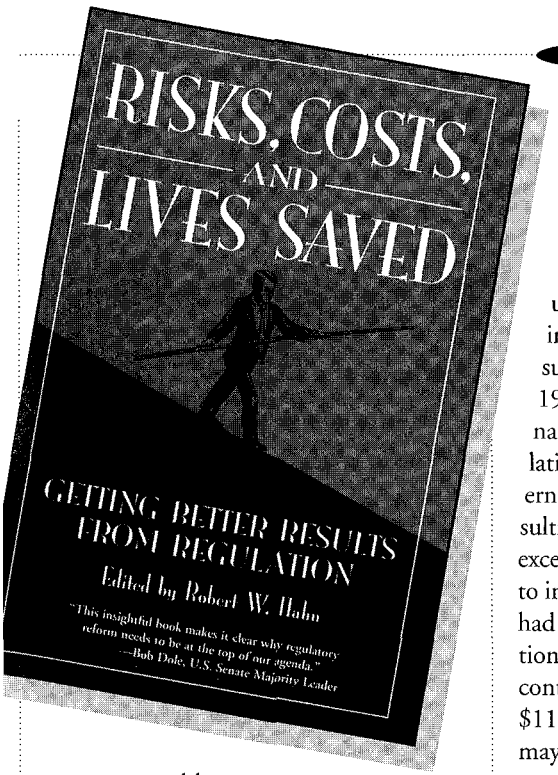
Making Sense of Risk

Robert W. Hahn, ed. Risks, Costs, and Lives Saved: Getting Better Results from Regulation. *American Enterprise Institute/Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016.*

Every day, government makes decisions based on how risky activities or products might be. Much of the time, when government makes a calculation of a risk, it is misleading, inaccurate, or wrong. And government spending to reduce risk is often misused. Robert Hahn of AEI argues that many recent expenditures on risk reduction have not only done "very little to reduce risk," but sometimes "are likely to have increased risks to human health." The contributors to this volume look at a wide variety of government risk-prevention activities to see how they could be improved.

Much of the time government imposes very strict standards that are far tougher than scientific knowledge would mandate. William R. Hendee from the Medical College of Wisconsin explores government standards on radiation, for example. Since the 1950s federal agencies have used a "no-threshold model," based on the premise that people would be harmed by *any* exposure to radiation. This model was adopted in the 1950s and based on the theory that if high doses of radiation could cause substantial harm to survivors of the Japanese atomic bomb explosions, then lower doses of radiation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



exposure would cause proportionately smaller damage.

Yet as early as 1958, a U.N.-sponsored scientific committee reported there was no evidence low-dose radiation harmed people. Scientists have since failed to reach any consensus on low-dose radiation. Such exposure might even provide health benefits, in the same way that consuming low doses of aspirin will help prevent heart attacks but consuming an entire bottle will send someone to the hospital. If there's no evidence that low-dose radiation causes harm, Hendee asks, what justification does the Department of Energy have for spending $200 billion on radiation clean-ups?

MIT meteorologist Eugene Lindzen writes about "global warming." Scientists agree that the average temperature of the earth has risen during the twentieth century by between 0.3 and 0.6 degrees Celsius. But this change "is well within the range of natural variability." Most meteorologists, he says, won't rule out the possibility of continued global warming, because "science is generally incapable of ruling out anything." No one knows whether the increase in worldwide temperature will be permanent, or what role carbon dioxide or other gases play in temperature change.

Hahn examines the government's use of cost-benefit analysis when making regulations. He looks at 92 rules issued by six federal agencies between 1990 and 1995. Nearly half of the 54 final rules that became government regulations failed a cost-benefit test: the government admitted that any benefits resulting from the legislation would be exceeded by the cost industry had to pay to implement them. If the government had been forbidden to enact any regulation that failed a cost-benefit test, Hahn contends, industry would have been saved $115 billion. And government agencies may even overstate the benefits and understate the costs of regulations.

The heads of agencies should be required "to put more weight on the economic results of regulatory analyses," Hahn suggests. Courts could give third parties standing to sue government agencies if they can show that a desired result could be reached at lower costs. And Congress could be given the power to veto regulations.

We welcome submissions of reports, articles, or papers you think should be summarized in THE DIGEST. Please send to P.O. Box 8093, Silver Spring, Maryland 20907.

OTHER COUNTRIES

Brazil Loses Interest In Children

George Martine, "Brazil's Fertility Decline, 1965-95: A Look at Key Factors," in Population and Development Review *(March 1996), Population Council, 1 Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza, New York, New York 10017.*

While most countries in the Third World have had increasing populations, Brazilians are having steadily fewer children. In 1970, the nation's inhabitants were increasing by 2.8 percent a year; by 1990, that rate was down to 1.5 percent, even though the country has never launched any major population-control efforts.

Martine, a senior fellow at Harvard's Center for Population and Development Studies, says "no simple and ready explanation" exists for the decline. But government propaganda and international family planning agencies have had little influence on Brazilian birth rates, he believes.

Since abortion is still illegal in Brazil, except in cases of rape or to save the life of the mother, no reliable estimates of Brazilian abortion rates exist, but Martine says anecdotal evidence suggests the Brazilian abortion rate is rising only slightly. Birth control pills are inexpensive and available without prescription, but many Brazilian women find them difficult to use.

The primary reason for Brazil's population decline, Martine concludes, is voluntary sterilization. A rising number of poor Brazilian women are sterilized after childbirth, particularly if they are among the 26 percent of Brazilian women who have had a baby using caesarean section. By the early 1990s, 37 percent of the women in Brazil's populous northeast were sterilized, and the median age of sterilization was 30 years.

Martine finds that large organizations have not had very much influence one way or the other on Brazilian child-rearing. For example, the Catholic Church has always opposed artificial population-control methods. The Brazilian government actively urged Brazilian women to have large families in the 1970s, and ineffectually argued for smaller families in the past decade. Feminists argued against contraception in the 1970s, claiming that it was a Western imperialist plot, and although women's groups changed their mind in the 1980s, they have had little influence. International population control agencies have remained small in Brazil; the Brazilian branch of Planned Parenthood has never claimed to reach more than one percent of the population.

Television soap operas, Martine believes, have played their part in population decline by routinely showing millions of viewers images of "extramarital sex, family instability, female empowerment, and nontraditional family arrangements." Cheap credit has also played its part, as many Brazilian families prefer to spend their rising incomes making payments on cars and televisions instead of spending money on children.

Brazil, Martine concludes, shows that "fertility decline does not require large-scale family planning programs."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

continued from page 73

separate accessory apartments into houses, even for relatives. Other democracies have adapted much better. Britain, for instance, has recently adopted a rent-a-room program that provides tax incentives to homeowners willing to make rooms available for rent. Japan provides loans for families who build or remodel a house to provide connected quarters for older parents. Germany allows homeowners who add a unit to their house with its own entrance and kitchen and bath to deduct against taxes 5 percent of the cost for 8 years, and 2-1/2 percent thereafter. Indeed, American zoning in its original form expressly permitted duplex houses in all residential areas in order to foster affordable housing.

Allowing (and encouraging) accessory apartments has many benefits, while the dangers are limited. Even some of the most expensive suburbs have begun to allow accessory housing in order to provide shelter for teachers and other service personnel with modest incomes, who would otherwise be priced out of the community. So long as such zoning liberalization only affects owner-occupied homes, it poses no threat to the established character of a community, because each new resident is effectively vouched for by an existing resident. And given recent decreases in the size of the average household, new apartments wouldn't increase neighborhood population densities beyond what was originally contemplated.

The monthly rents of accessory apartments tend to be modest compared to conventional rentals: a 1984 study of one representative suburb showed monthly fees of $513 for conventional rental housing, versus $375 for accessory apartments occupied by non-relatives and $240 for those containing relatives. Since accessory apartments can typically be created for about $20,000 each, they are far cheaper than federal programs for building low-income housing.

One advantage of accessory apartments is the way they open good neighborhoods to older relatives of families with young children. The European tradition of the *babushka* (grandmother) living in adjoining private quarters could, if imitated, do much to alleviate today's family stresses. Indeed, much of the demand for day care already results from unwise zoning regulations that discourage not only accessory apartments but also home businesses, retailing within walkable distances, and in-home neighborhood child-minding.

A Commission on Regulatory Barriers to Affordable Housing appointed by HUD Secretary Jack Kemp a few years ago recommended that accessory housing be allowed as a right in all owner-occupied homes. Unfortunately, a HUD task force assigned to dismantle regulatory barriers was abolished in the early days of the Clinton administration. Instead, Kemp's successor, Secretary Cisneros, has sought to "open up the suburbs" with an expensive and divisive program that provides large rental subsidies to a handful of public-housing clients. These clients—chosen for their incompatibility with the existing residents of the communities they will join—are then encouraged to rent apartments they could not afford on their own.

Thinking small and accommodating the needs of existing neighborhoods through a myriad of individually initiated changes are not ideas likely to interest persons ideologically attracted to grand "solutions." But in the long run, more accessory apartments, more *babushkas* in family neighborhoods, and more convenient neighborhood services will prove both less costly and more valuable than today's trendier solutions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

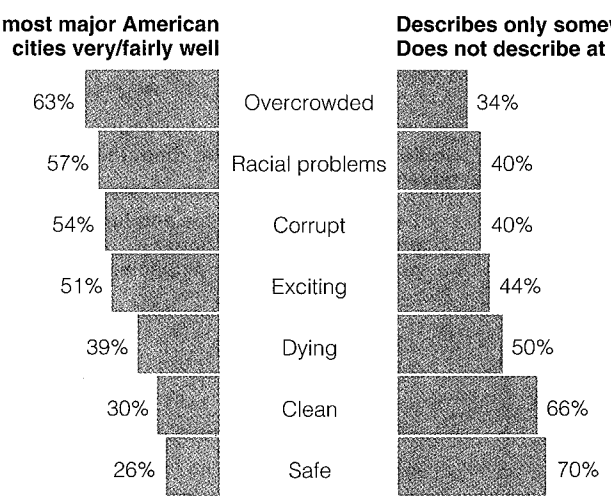
Opinion Pulse

EDITED BY KARLYN BOWMAN

OPINIONS ABOUT WHERE WE LIVE

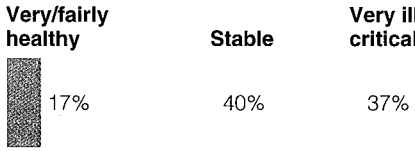
Only about two in ten Americans (and a quarter of city dwellers) say the country's major cities are healthy. Asked about where they live, the performance of their local government, and whether they are getting a fair return for the money they pay in local taxes, residents of large cities are more pessimistic than residents of suburbia, small towns, or rural areas.

Question: **Let me read you a number of words and phrases some people have used to describe major American cities today. For each, please tell me whether this describes most major American cities...**



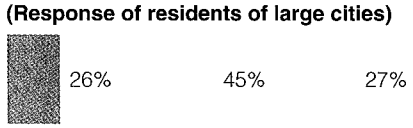
Question: **In medical terms, how would you describe the health of...?**

Major cities in general



The major city where you live

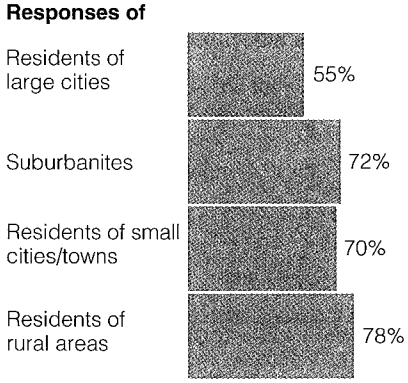
(Response of residents of large cities)



Question: **In general, how do you think things are going these days in the city or town where you live...?**

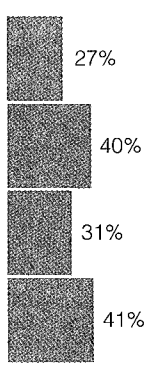
Things are going very/ fairly well where I live

Responses of



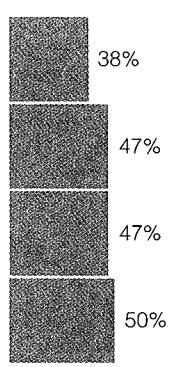
Question: **In general, how would you rate the job your local government is doing...?**

Local government is doing an excellent/good job



Question: **In general, would you say you do or do not ...?**

Get a fair return for the money I pay in local taxes



Source: Survey by Peter D. Hart Research Associates for NBC News/*Newsweek*, July 14–18, 1991.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

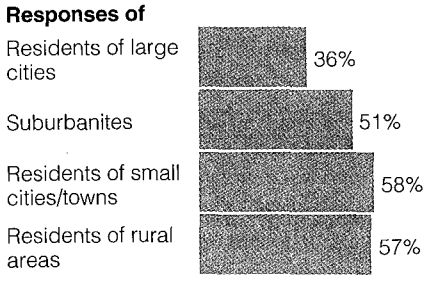
Community Environments and Institutions

Residents of large cities are less confident than people in other locales about the public education system where they live and they are more likely to have had experience with crime. Many Americans say services such as road maintenance, garbage collection, and public transportation would be better if they were privatized. Small towns are thought to be the best place to live today. In a question asked about different cities, New York City was thought to be the most dangerous—and the most exciting—city.

Question: **How much confidence do you have that children can get a good education in the public schools where you live...?**

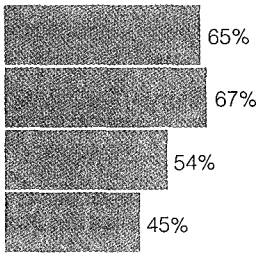
Have a great deal/quite a bit of confidence that children can get a good education in the public schools where I live

Responses of



Question: **In the past five years...**

I or someone I know have been the victim of a crime



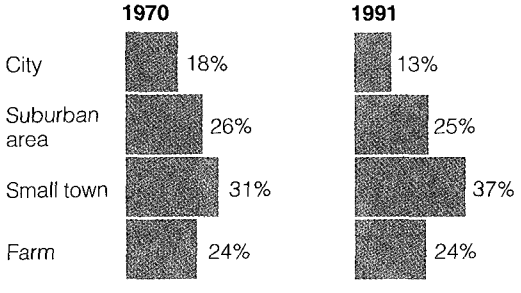
Question: **In general, do you think that services provided by local government...would be better, worse, or about the same if they were provided by employees of private companies rather than by employees of local government?**

Responses of	Services such as road maintenance, garbage collection, and public transportation would be better if provided by private companies	Same	Worse	Services such as police and fire protection would be better if provided by private companies	Same	Worse
Residents of large cities	47%	25%	19%	23%	28%	40%
Suburbanites	42%	31	19	24%	32	37
Residents of small cities/towns	41%	30	19	24%	33	39
Residents of rural areas	41%	27	17	18%	31	37

Source: Survey by Peter D. Hart Research Associates for NBC News/*Newsweek*, July 14–18, 1991.

Question: ***If you could live anywhere in the United States you wanted to...***

I would prefer a...



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, 1970 and by Peter D. Hart Research Associates for NBC News/*Newsweek*, July 14–18, 1991.

Question: **Here is a list of some major cities and some adjectives and phrases that could be used to describe them. For each city, I would like you to tell me which of the adjectives and phrases *describe them the best...***

Exciting	New York City
Dangerous	New York City
Friendly	Atlanta
Polluted	New York City, Los Angeles
Beautiful	San Francisco
Romantic	San Francisco
High quality of Life	San Francisco, Denver
Lots of poverty	New York City
Neglected/run down	New York City, Detroit

Other cities that did not rate a top mention in any of these categories were Houston, Chicago, Boston, Washington, D.C., Miami, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, Seattle, and Dallas.

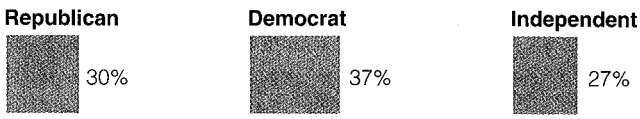
Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide, January 6–20, 1996.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PARTISAN DISPOSITION OF THE COUNTRY

Political scientists debate whether a political realignment has taken place in the United States. Certainly survey data show fundamental change. Data from Louis Harris and Associates show that the Democrats' margin over the Republicans in party identification has eroded significantly over the past several decades. Conservatives now outnumber liberals by two to one. Skepticism about government abounds. The country is split about whether Republicans or Democrats can best handle the country's most important problems.

Question: **What do you usually consider yourself—a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?**



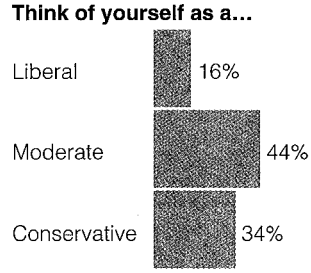
Democratic margin over the Republican in party affiliation*

in the 1970s	21 points
in the 1980s	11 points
in the 1990s	7 points

Note: *Numbers are means. Figure for the 1990s represents all Harris surveys conducted this year.
Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates, latest that of 1990–1996.

Question: **How would you describe your views on most political matters? Generally...**

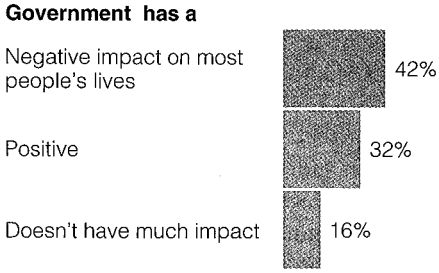
Think of yourself as a...



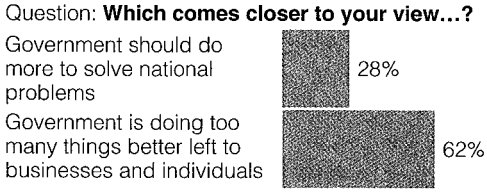
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, September 2–4, 1996.

Question: **These days...**

Government has a

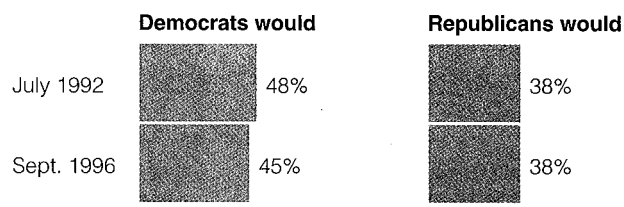


Question: **Which comes closer to your view...?**



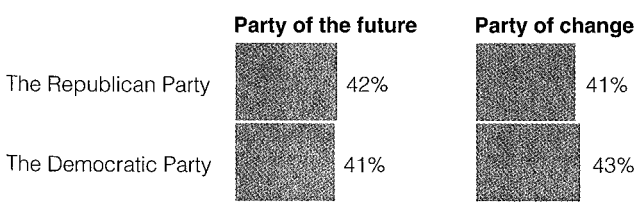
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, September 2–4, 1996.

Question: **Overall, which party would do a better job in coping with the main problems the nation faces over the next few years...?**



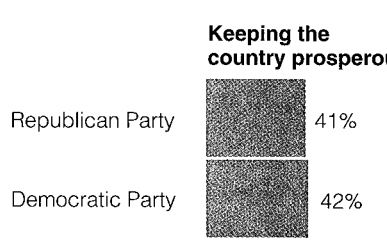
Source: Survey by ABC News/*Washington Post*, latest that of September 15, 1996.

Question: **For each of the following descriptions, please tell me whether you think it mainly applies to...?**



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN and *USA TODAY*, August 23–25, 1996.

Question: **Looking ahead for the next few years, which political party will do a better job...?**



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 25–28, 1996.

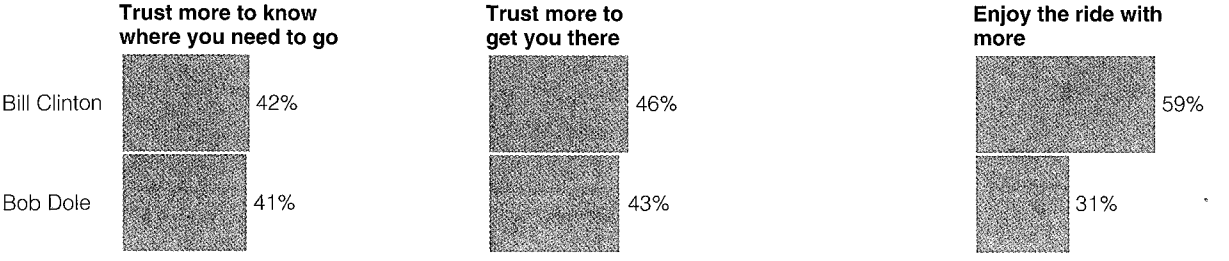
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REVEALING OPINIONS ON THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST

We show below some off-beat survey questions asked this election year. People clearly feel comfortable with Bill Clinton. They would enjoy a car ride with him more than one with Bob Dole, and they think he'd do a better job than Dole in selling a business's products. Bob Dole wins when people are asked about whom they would trust more to keep the books for a business. About four in ten think Ross Perot is a little bit crazy.

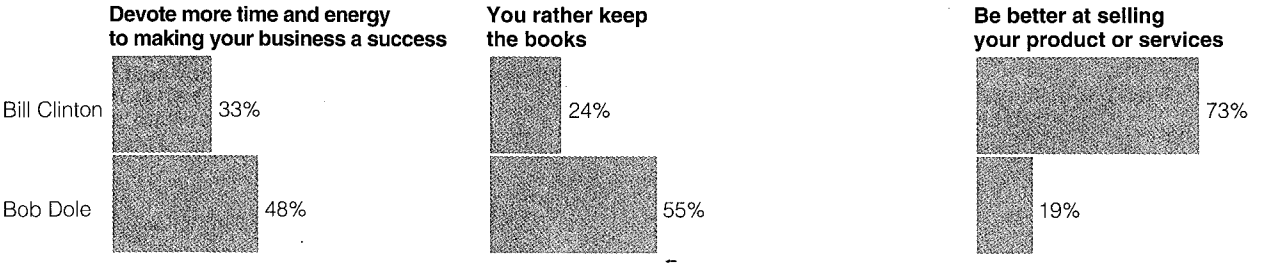
Question: **And, just for fun, let's think about a few hypothetical situations...?**

If you were going to give the keys to your car to either Bill Clinton or Bob Dole, who would you...?



Question: **And, If you were going to go into business with either Bill Clinton or Bob Dole...?**

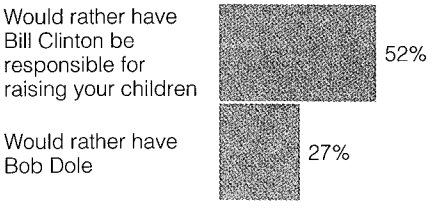
Who would



Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for *U.S. News & World Report*, June 1–3, 1996.

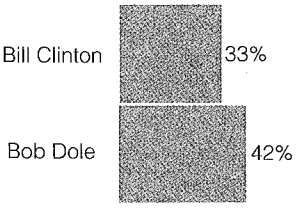
Question: **Here's a question just for fun. If something were to happen to you or your children's other parent, and you had to choose Bill Clinton or Bob Dole to take care of your children, which one would you rather be responsible for raising your children?**

If something happened to you or your spouse



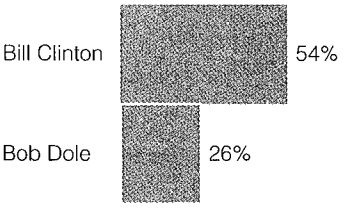
Source: Survey by the *Washington Post*, April 19–23, 1996.

Question: **Who would you rather have your child grow up to be more like...?**



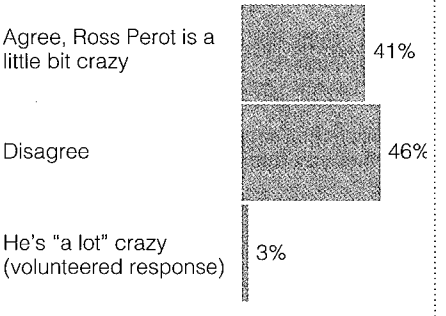
Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for *U.S. News & World Report*, June 1–3, 1996.

Question: **If you had to choose, who would you rather have order your pizza toppings...?**



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for *Time* and CNN. May 8–9. 1996.

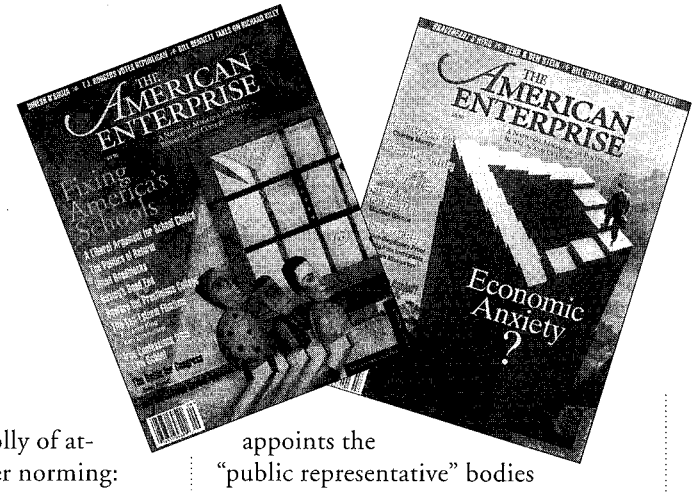
Question: **Some people say that Ross Perot is a little bit crazy. Do you agree or disagree?**



Source: Survey by Opinion Dynamics for Fox, July 24–25, 1996.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Mail



As a single mother, I was intrigued by Barbara Dafoe Whitehead's "The War between the Sexes" (May/June). My biological clock was ticking away, and I had yet to find a suitable partner and father, so I chose to continue with an accidental pregnancy. I am also part of that growing group of highly educated professional women who are secure financially and able to afford excellent child care and provide a child with all the material advantages, as well as love and attention, one would want.

Although I subscribe to Whitehead's precept that marriage bridges the divide between men and women, it seems to require far greater effort and compromise on the part of women. The feminist movement brought us greater opportunity for careers and financial independence. But many men resist change or are openly resentful of the encroachment by women on what they regard as their turf. Few men can accept that roles are "flexibly interchangeable," and numerous men simply do not want the responsibilities of fatherhood.

Until more men have greater respect for women, for themselves, and for the joys of committed parenting, single motherhood will continue to be the preferred choice for many women.

Karen McCusker
Divonne, France

I was struck by the item describing how the Boston Latin School emphasizes the math component of its admission test to the detriment of women, juxtaposed with the item describing how the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test (PSAT) emphasizes the verbal component to the detriment of men! (SCAN, Sept./Oct.)

This demonstrates the folly of attempts at race and gender norming: They will never be able to satisfy all groups claiming protected status.

Richard M. Kuntz
via Compuserve

I was amused to read in Blake Hurst's IN REAL LIFE article (July/August) that 2,400-baud speed for computer modems is considered backwoods technology in the United States. I work out of an office in the old city of Salzburg, Austria, and I have tried in vain for over three years to get a second phone line because we also have only 2,400-baud equipment. The government-owned phone company, Austrian Post Telekom, has informed us that it will stay that way for at least a year or two. Of course, the complete lack of competition is responsible for this backwardness. I've read that the big American communications providers are trying to enter the European Union market. We are rooting for you.

Eugene Sensing
via Compuserve

In Thomas West's "Freedom of Speech" (March/April) I noticed a quotation from Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, who noted that the Federal Communications Commission's Fairness Doctrine causes broadcasters to echo the dominant political voice that emerges after each election.

Having just finished a special report on the behavior of Israel's electronic media during our recent elections, I can assure you that the phenomenon occurs in other countries as well. Israel's radio and TV are mostly state-sponsored. A government minister "supervises" and appoints the "public representative" bodies that administer the stations and channels. The journalists make it very clear in public statements that they belong to the Left. In fact, Israeli broadcasters echo the dominant political voice that exists *prior* to every election.

Yisrael Medad
Director, Israel's Media

Congratulations on your up-to-date look at the dire straits of education in the United States. (Sept./Oct.) A couple of pages, however, could easily have been spent documenting how huge—and successful—homeschooling has become over the past decade, in large part as a reaction to the ills that TAE so thoroughly documented. The growing separation-of-school-and-state movement also deserved attention, especially because it makes the school choice advocates look downright friendly to the education establishment.

Tom Wiswell
via Compuserve

Kudos on your special issue on education. While reading it, a light went off in my head revealing why Bill Clinton is so highly beloved by the teachers' unions. Let's recall his 1992 campaign promises: a middle-class tax cut; health care reform; welfare reform; and an administration that displays unprecedented levels of ethics. Despite the fact that none of these things occurred, Bill has rated his presidency the most productive of the century. So we have a presidential underachiever who nevertheless feels extremely good about his performance. A poster boy for the unions!

Robert C. Cook
Sparks, Nevada

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862–5867. Or e-mail 75272.1226@compuserve.com. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

continued from page 40

The emergence of an alienated feminism wasn't the only warning of popular dissatisfaction with the suburban formula. A more concrete bit of evidence was the way our childbearing rate fell, like a marble off a table, from 3.8 lifetime births per mother in 1957 to 1.8 in 1975. Next, parents of infants and toddlers began to leave home during the day in droves. Instead of raising their preschoolers themselves, mothers and fathers have been handing them over in record numbers to hired caregivers. No longer even nurseries, lots of suburban homes have turned into little more than evening leisure centers and weekend crash pads.

Suburbs are Modernism in Bricks and Mortar

Though they began with the idea of bolstering family life, suburbs offered little protection when "self-fulfillment" became the cultural fashion in the 1960s. Judged by its practical effects, suburbia's most enduring products were, in swift succession: the absent working father, then a feminist backlash, followed by the absent working mother, all leading to today's unnerving legacy of daycare centers, split families, and childhood pathology. A heck of a lot more than suburbanization went into causing our family troubles. But suburbanization's erosion of neighborly supports and sanctions dumped a whole lot of straw onto the camel's back.

When the first suburban runaways set up their little arcadias out at the end of the paper routes, they had fantasized that they were migrating to close-knit towns where precious antediluvian values remained intact for them to recover. Actually, they were decamping into the perfect vacuum of commandeered corn fields, and importing all the transitory, impersonal, busy modern habits they imagined they were fleeing. Their new neighbors were all fellow émigrés, and together they permanently enshrined the most rootless aspects of twentieth-century life in a powerful new physical arrangement.

Suburbs didn't counter the defects that industrialism had introduced into our communities, they institutionalized them on virgin ground. The solitary commute, the ever-glowing boob tube, the TV dinner, the mall-based vacation, the Nintendo/Walkman childhood, the three-car family schedule, the no-fault divorce—these are all hallmarks of suburban life today. Suburban high schools are plagued by sexual misbehavior, cheating, and drug use, just as inner-city high schools are, and with less excuse. The suburban insulation against social decay has proved to be thin indeed.

Are There Alternatives?

So: Contrary to popular belief that suburbia is a bastion of traditionalism, it actually grew directly out of the social engineering mania that hit high tide in this country between the 1930s and 1970s. And the processes by which suburbs were formed pushed much of their competition out of the running. By vacuuming the most productive citizens out of established small towns and urban neighborhoods, suburbanization made alternate residential forms less viable. Our rural areas grew that much ricketier, and our cities got even colder and crueler. As a result, many families now feel they have no alternative to life in suburbia. So they make do, living their lives and raising their children with much less social support than families have traditionally enjoyed.

Even against their damaged competition, though, suburbs aren't the people's choice. When the latest Gallup poll asked Americans what kind of place they would most like to live in, only 25 percent chose a suburb. An equal number chose a farm. Just 13 percent said a city. The largest number by far—37 percent—wanted to live in a small town. People accept suburbs, but they aren't particularly enthusiastic about them.

In the essay before this one, Allan Carlson asks if there is any reasonable *alternative* to suburbs for average families living in the 1990s. That is the crucial question. We sometimes assume today that the only alternative to tract living is to be stacked up in apartment towers in grim inner cities. But that, thankfully, is not the only other choice. The *natural* community where humans have lived for most of their 10,000 years of history is the village. Sometimes the village has been a small town surrounded by wheat fields and forests. Other times it has been an urban village, a fairly self-contained 15-minute-walk community located within a larger city.

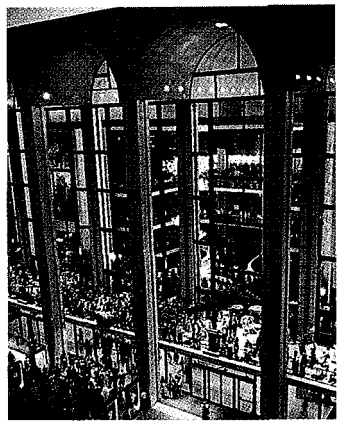
These kinds of villages still exist in America today—in towns and small cities, in a few lucky places within large cities, even within the more sensibly arranged parts of suburbia. These well-knitted, family-friendly communities are threatened, but they have hardly disappeared.

Surely conservatives and liberals alike can agree on the benefits of preserving and reviving these village-like communities. With the benefit of new technology, fresh services, expanded wealth, and other wholesome aspects of modernism, we ought to be able to encourage the rise of towns that have more of the traditional virtues of cohesive old-style neighborhoods. In the fascinating material you will find on pages 41 to 50 (and elsewhere in this magazine), there are concrete suggestions as to how communities might be built and rebuilt in the future so as to make this happen.

But first we must get beyond the idea that our current patterns of suburban living are paradise for children, families, and local patriotism. For the truth is, when we shifted from the gritty but distinctly communitarian life of rural small towns and tight-knit city neighborhoods to life in scattered houses, malls, and "bedroom communities" (an oxymoron if there ever was one), there was a sharp falloff in the connections among Americans. Mostly by accident, our flight from dangerous cities and stagnant rural areas became mixed up with the modern retreat from family and civic obligations. And the tragedy is that, while no one intended it, suburbs made both kinds of flight remarkably easy.

We've recently begun to correct errors of modernism in many other parts of American society—by recovering our respect for traditional families, for instance, by re-emphasizing personal responsibility, by retreating from the hubris of the Great Society. Our isolating suburbs need fixing too. And good alternatives do exist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The best seats in the house aren't only in the house.

DATE	OPERA	ON-AIR	OFF-AIR
1996 RADIO BROADCASTS			
December 7	**Met Season Preview**	1:30	4:30
December 14	**L'Elisir d'Amore** [Donizetti]	1:30	4:15
December 21	***A Midsummer Night's Dream** [Britten]	1:30	5:00
December 28	**Hansel and Gretel** [Humperdinck]	1:30	3:50
1997 RADIO BROADCASTS			
January 4	**Tosca** [Puccini]	1:30	4:41
January 11	**La Bohème** [Puccini]	1:30	4:28
January 18	**La Traviata** [Verdi]	1:30	4:38
January 25	**Cavalleria Rusticana/Pagliacci** [Mascagni/Leoncavallo]	1:30	4:40
February 1	**I Puritani** [Bellini]	1:30	5:00
February 8	**Le Nozze di Figaro** [Mozart]	1:30	5:32
February 15	**La Forza del Destino** [Verdi]	1:30	5:25
February 22	***Wozzeck** [Berg]	**1:30	3:46
March 1	**Aida** [Verdi]	1:30	5:28
March 8	**Billy Budd** [Britten]	1:30	4:43
March 15	**Così fan tutte** [Mozart]	1:30	5:15
March 22	***Carmen** [Bizet]	1:30	5:20
March 29	**Das Rheingold** [Wagner]	**1:30	4:45
April 5	**Faust** [Gounod]	1:30	5:06
April 12	**Die Walküre** [Wagner]	12:30	5:38
April 19	***Eugene Onegin** [Tchaikovsky]	12:30	4:00
April 26	***Fedora** [Giordano]	12:30	3:14

1996–97 PBS TELECASTS

September 11 ..... **La Forza del Destino** [Verdi]
December 30 ..... **Così fan tutte** [Mozart]
April 23 ..... **Andrea Chénier** [Giordano]

Visit the Texaco Web site: http://www.texaco.com

*New production. All times Eastern. **Precurtain begins at 1:30; opera begins at 2:00.
To order your free guide to the 1996–97 Texaco–Metropolitan Opera Broadcasts, write: The Met, Box 200, New York, NY 10023.

TEXACO

©1996 Texaco Inc.

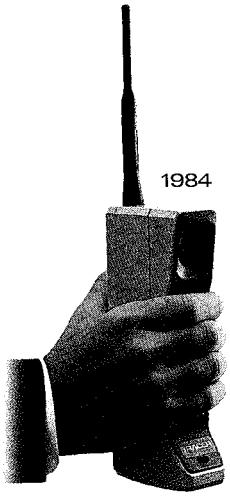
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The people who introduced

1940

hand-held wireless communication,

1984



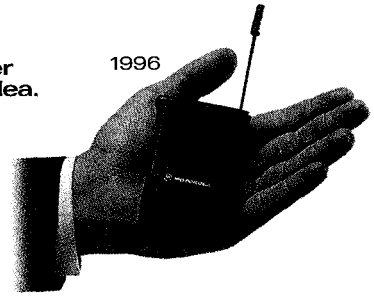
and portable cellular communication,

1989

and personal cellular communication,

had another little idea.

1996



Introducing the StarTAC™ wearable cellular phone.

It's the next revolution in cellular technology.

The world's first wearable cellular telephone. It's the lightest, smallest cellular phone, weighing as little as 3.1 ounces and just 3.7 inches long. The StarTAC wearable phone can be folded in half and slipped neatly into a shirt pocket. Plus, like every other Motorola cellular phone, it's engineered to endure those bumps and bounces. The StarTAC wearable cellular phone. A new product category. From Motorola, of course.

MOTOROLA

What you never thought possible.™

Ⓜ, Motorola and StarTAC are trademarks of Motorola, Inc. ©1996 Motorola, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED